

United campaign is launched against Los Angeles bombers

By Joel Britton

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 24 — At about 11:30 p.m. on Tuesday, Oct. 22, a bomb consisting of three sticks of dynamite was placed at the door of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign headquarters at 1702 East Fourth St. The bomb did not explode. A "United Cuban Power" sticker was found at the scene.

This was another in a series of terrorist acts perpetrated by rightists in this city. A week ago, on Oct. 16, a bomb was exploded at the Socialist Workers headquarters. On Sunday, Oct. 28, the *Free Press* newspaper offices were bombed. On Monday the Malcolm X Foundation was fire-bombed and burned to the ground. On Tuesday the offices of the Long Beach Students for a Democratic Society and Peace and Freedom Party were bombed.

In response to the right-wing terrorist campaign, a united defense effort has been launched. A meeting was held today of representatives of antiwar groups, the Peace and Freedom Party, Black Panther Party, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, the *Free Press*, the Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights and others to map plans to counter the rightist attacks.

The meeting agreed to launch a campaign of publicity and protest of the failure of the city officials to do anything to stop the terrorists. An open letter is being prepared, and a press conference will be held on Oct. 28 where individuals from groups who have been bombed or harassed by right wing groups or the police will relate the facts about these attacks. One of the spokesmen at the press conference will be

Art Kunkin of the *Free Press*.

The united defense meeting also agreed that all the groups would work together to defend their headquarters and meetings. They also agreed to make facilities and headquarters available to any group which has its equipment or headquarters damaged in an attack. The participating groups decided to try to widen the united effort by bringing in other groups.

The latest bombing attempt at the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters took place a half hour after a meeting of supporters of the Halstead-Boutelle campaign. No one was in the offices when the bomb was placed in the doorway.

Phil Passen and John Grey, SWP congressional candidates, issued a statement denouncing the Los Angeles Police Department for its "inability to apprehend these

right-wing terrorists." They urged "the broadest united defense in solidarity among the organizations and newspapers who have been subjected to bombings or other attacks on their offices by the Cuban exiles or other right-wing elements. It is outrageous that during this election campaign where such an issue is being made of 'law and order,' that the law enforcement agencies are too busy harassing and infiltrating black and brown liberation movements and socialist organizations to be able to apprehend and prosecute the right-wing terrorists."

One person has been arrested by the Long Beach police for the bombing of the SDS and Peace and Freedom Party headquarters. His name is Robert Emery Hargraves and he is alleged to be a member of the Minute Men.

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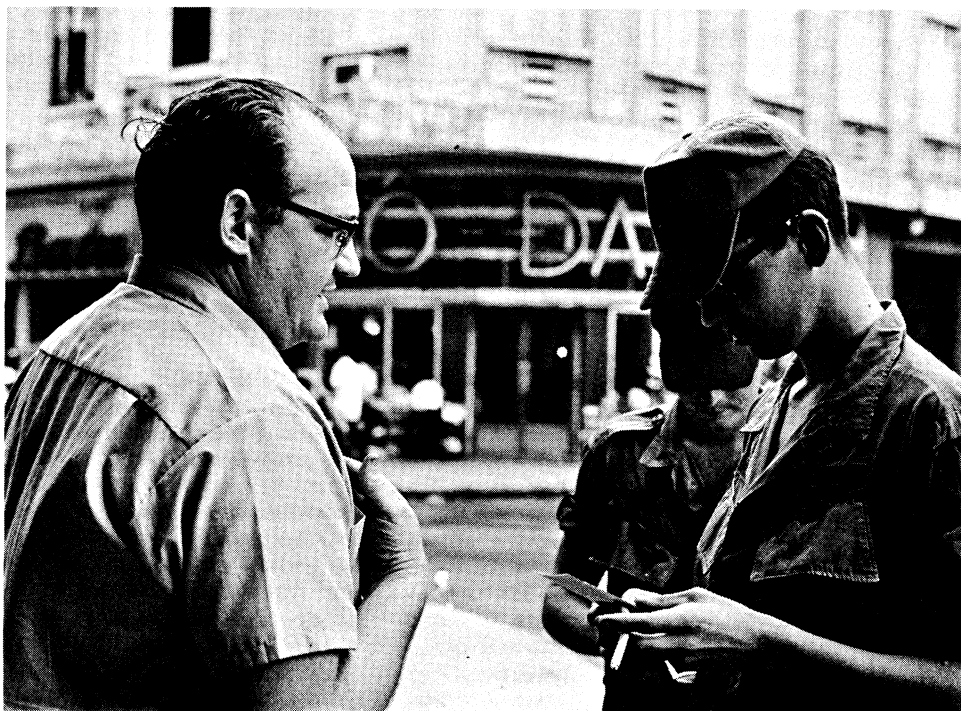
Friday, November 1, 1968

Price 15c

Antiwar GIs under attack

—see stories page 12—

VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS!



FRED HALSTEAD. Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate explained his campaign to GIs in Saigon last August.



PAUL BOUTELLE. Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate speaking at Berkeley, Calif., rally.

The presidential election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party, buttressed by local campaigns in a number of areas, has been the most effective waged by the party since it first fielded a presidential ticket in 1948. And if there was ever an election year when a meaningful socialist alternative to the capitalist politicians was needed, this certainly has been it.

Referring to Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace, an Oct. 24 *New York Times* story was headlined: "The Candidates and Foreign Affairs: Little Choice for Voters Seems Evident."

This is, of course, the fact not only in relation to foreign affairs, but on every significant issue at stake in the election. All three favor continuing U.S. efforts aimed at world domination. All three favor repressive measures against liberation forces at home as expressed in their common racist stand in support of what they demagogically call "law and order."

To this capitalist program of war and racism Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle have counterposed a revolutionary program centered around the key demands of immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam and black control of the black communities. These demands have been tied to their fundamental program of basic socialist solutions to the terrible social evils spawned by a decaying capitalist order.

And they have reached an impressive number of people with this program. Despite limited resources, more than a million pieces of literature were issued through the national campaign headquarters alone. Despite discriminatory regulations, the SWP ticket won a ballot place in 19 states, more than it had in any previous election and significantly more than any of the other minority parties contesting in this election.

The candidates themselves have not only travelled the country, but a good part of the world as well.

Paul Boutelle's meetings with black nationalists in England and his visit to France during the uprising of last spring contributed significantly to the impact of his revolutionary message, which was well-received on campuses and in black communities North and South.

Fred Halstead's visit to South Vietnam, his participation in Japanese antiwar conferences, and conversations with GIs in Western Europe underlined the serious determination to bring the Socialist Workers' antiwar message to the members of the armed forces. This was further concretized in the distribution of nearly a hundred thousand copies of Halstead's antiwar "Letter to GIs."

The campaign orientation toward the troops culminated several years of persistent efforts in this direction by the SWP, an effort that contributed significantly to the present turn of the antiwar movement toward linking up with the antiwar sentiment within the Army.

In addition to advancing concrete political demands and developing programs of action, the Socialist Workers campaign has, we think, contributed toward clarity among radicals on important political issues—particularly with its analysis of the McCarthy campaign and such nonsocialist formations as the Peace and Freedom and Freedom and Peace groupings.

In the course of this campaign, several hundred new young people have been actively involved in socialist politics, and that process is not yet completed.

In short, the Socialist Workers campaign has demonstrated that it is not at all necessary to either adapt to one or another form of reformist, capitalist politics or to take refuge in a futile, self-isolating policy of abstention from the electoral arena. It has shown that it is a perfectly practical idea to carry the revolutionary struggle into the electoral arena, popularize socialist ideas and win new forces for the movement.

Now the remaining job in the election is to register the best vote possible for the socialist slate. We urge a final effort to reach everyone possible with the one meaningful choice: VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS!

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Friday, November 1, 1968

An appeal to aid victims of repression in Mexico

The following are excerpts from a letter received by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners from one of the political prisoners in Mexico who was arrested in the recent government repression.

. . . These [persecutions] are forms of payment we have to make to make things better, and as for me, I do it without regretting anything. The great advance that has occurred through the awakening of hundreds of thousands of youth and the perspectives that have opened will hurry events.

But not everything has been easy; the events of October (massacre at Tlatelolco) and the news of the arrests and the dead people were very sad. Those events still weigh on me and don't let me work or think clearly. In addition, the conditions in which we live don't lend themselves to work: many live together (110 in a hall meant for 30); we don't have tables, paper, books, pens or typewriters, etc. The majority of the youth have frayed nerves because they were by no means prepared for this experience.

My fate depends mostly on how relations between the authorities and the leadership of the movement (National Strike Committee) develop; nevertheless the question of judicial defense and the intervention of important people would also be important . . . We can assume that the charges were made up beforehand for the members of the Strike Committee whom they planned to detain the day of the military assault on the University City.

Once the leading group is detained, they will probably direct the stiffest penalties against them, an act that will open the road to possible maneuvers . . .

My lack of contact with friends from outside . . . has left me without money for the most elementary needs and entirely dependent on . . . who I am sure doesn't have anything . . .

I think it is important to have a good defense and good witnesses . . . Right now it is necessary to give the lawyer \$500 in order to pay for copies of charges . . .

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners is sending funds to aid the victims of the repression that has jailed about 300 students, professors and sympathizers of the movement. Arrangements were made by the committee to cover legal costs and the elementary needs of the prisoners through its representative, Richard Garza, who went to Mexico recently to talk to the prisoners and their families. Funds are urgently needed. Latin American jails don't provide things like clean clothes, decent food, or even beds for the prisoners. These must be provided by friends or by the families of the prisoners.

Make checks payable to the U.S. L. A. Justice Committee, P. O. Box 2303, New York, N. Y. 10003.

"Hands Off Aaron Dixon"

The story of Seattle Black Panther Party Captain Aaron Dixon who faces 10-15 years on a frame-up charge of grand larceny.

25c

Order From: Aaron Dixon Defense Fund
P. O. Box 15460
Wedgewood Station
Seattle, Washington 98115

African struggle against Portugal

Guerrillas winning 'sweeping victories'

Los Angeles, Calif.

Just as in Vietnam, where the U.S. imperialists, with all their modern weapons of war, are being defeated by the revolutionary forces of the people, so too the people of Portuguese-controlled Africa are demonstrating the capacity of an armed people to wage a successful guerrilla war. Mozambique liberation forces, aided by their Tanzanian brothers, are making sweeping victories as their drive southward against the Portuguese imperialists gathers momentum.

There has been an intensification of mortar and cannon attacks by the guerrillas on fuel dumps, airfields and other military installations. The Mueda Airbase in the northern province of Cabo Delgado is considered to be one of the main targets. "From this airbase," said guerrilla leaders, "napalm-laden bombers supplied by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency were frequently sent to raid villages, killing peasants and destroying crops."

In Guinea, the guerrillas have forced their former oppressors to flee from the capital city of Beli, while in Angola, the oppressors' grip has been loosened by the deaths of 600 soldiers in the early summer.

Although the Western press has successfully slowed down the spread of information describing black Africans' victories over their oppressors, it has not prevented the world from learning, finally, of the destruction of an entire enemy unit in Dala, Lunda Province, and the demolition of enemy administrative headquarters. The dwindling number of Portuguese troops has forced the colonial authorities to extend the length of military service and to decree by law that women must serve in the army. Morale is low, and desertion is frequent among the Portuguese troops, now that the fighting is tougher. In some cases troops flee during or before battle.

The ever increasing costs of maintaining a colonial empire is putting an ever widening strain on the economy in Portugal itself, which will aggravate the class antagonisms and ultimately lead to a revolutionary upsurge by the Portuguese masses.

H. M. S.

Taxpayers & Jackie

Fort Bragg, Calif.

Why should the American taxpayers be forced to give Mrs. John F. Kennedy a lifetime pension, bodyguards around the clock for her and her children, and an unlimited expense account for her pleasure and publicity trips around the world?

The Kennedys, with their hundreds of millions of dollars of inherited wealth safely invested in tax-exempt bonds and securities would have more money than the government if our national debt was paid off.

J. O.

Halstead & Boutelle put down Buckley

New York, N. Y.

I saw Halstead and Boutelle on the Buckley show. I thought they handled themselves quite well.

I frequently watch that show for the skill with which Buckley debates. His skill has nothing to do with the reactionary content of his philosophy.

Thus I get great pleasure out of seeing others put Buckley down, e.g., Norman Mailer, Herman Kahn.

On the show with Halstead and Boutelle, Buckley expected to find the Socialist Workers Party representatives dogmatic and doctrinaire Marxists of a dull frame of mind. I think he was very much taken by surprise.

The comparison of the American and Cuban revolutions was most telling against Buckley.

J. R.

Recommends Trotsky to CP candidate

Madison, Wis.

Charlene Mitchell, Communist Party candidate for President, spoke last night (Oct. 17) to students at the University of Wisconsin Student Union. She was asked what she thought of the presidential candidacy of Fred Halstead. Her disturbing reply was that she had been unable to get hold of a copy of the SWP platform and so declined comment.

This is obviously evidence of a serious breakdown of communication on the Left in this country. Perhaps you could send a free subscription to *The Militant* to the Communist Party. If there is anyone over there who knows where Mrs. Mitchell is, they could forward copies to her.

In the fond hope that someone from the SWP may see this letter, I would suggest that he send some literature along to the CP or Mrs. Mitchell. Perhaps a copy of *The Revolution Betrayed* by the Bolshevik L. D. Trotsky (Merit Publishers, 1965) could be included.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the CP in the hope it may facilitate the establishment of the dialogue between the two parties

Meet Socialists in Your Area

(If you are interested in the ideas of socialism, you can meet socialists in your city at the following addresses.)

CALIFORNIA: Atascadero: YSA, Bill Blau, P.O. Box 1061, Atascadero.

Berkeley-Oakland: Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 2519A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley 94704. (415) 849-1032.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A. 90033. (213) AN 9-4953.

Sacramento: Sacramento State College YSA, John Montgomery, West Bridge #192, 1025 University Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95825.

San Diego: San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 2221, San Diego 92112.

San Francisco: Militant Labor Forum and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., S. F. 94114. (415) 552-1266.

Santa Rosa: Young Socialist Alliance, Stefan Bosworth, 808 Spencer.

GEORGIA: YSA, P.O. Box 6262, Atlanta, Ga. 30308. (404) 873-1368.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, Bill Moffet, 406 S. Washington.

Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Station A, Champaign, Ill. 61820.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago 60606. (312) 939-5044.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Russel Block, 207 East 2nd St., Bloomington 47401. 339-4640.

Evansville: YSA, Ronald Hicks, 1619 Franklin St., Evansville.

Indianapolis: Halstead-Boutelle Campaign, P.O. Box 654, Indianapolis, Indiana, 46206.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, Toby Rice, c/o Bram, 1518 Park Ave., Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. (617) 876-5930.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: Nan Byam, 921 S. Forest, Ann Arbor, 48104. Phone 761-0828.

Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737

Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

which is so necessary in these troubled times.

Jerry Bridgman

[The Militant and the Daily World extend to each other the usual courtesy of exchange subscriptions.

Editor]

No sympathy for antiwar GIs

Portland, Ore.

Without GIs we wouldn't have an army to fight wars. I find the idea of GIs passing out antiwar literature ludicrous. If any man is truly sincere about an objection to war, he should refuse to serve in the armed forces, or if he is already in, then he should refuse to continue and accept the consequences.

My support and sympathy is with those men who refuse to serve and those who think killing is right (they really need help), but not those too cowardly to stand up for their antiwar beliefs and continue in the service because it is expedient.

Karin Garnica

Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Ginny Osteen, 409 W. Holmes, 353-6170.

Ypsilanti: Ed Mattos, 913 Washtenaw #16, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Phone 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls. 55403. (612) FE 2-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: Phone E V 9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, c/o Walt and Andrea Brode, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J., 17104, tel. 483-8513.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, Carol French, 194 Jay Street, Albany 11210.

New York City: Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.), N.Y. 10003. (212) 982-6051.

OHIO: Cleveland: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 44106. (216) 791-1669.

Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent.

Yellow Springs: Antioch YSA, Michael Schreiber, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs 45387. 767-5511.

OREGON: Portland: c/o Tonie Porter, 5203 S. W. Pamona, Portland, 97219.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Phila. 19130. (215) CE 6-6998.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Ave., Austin.

Houston: YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2236.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-3537.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 3 Thomas Circle, N.W., 2nd floor, Washington, D.C., 20005. (202) 332-4635.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP and YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle 98105. (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 202 Marion St. (608) 256-0857.

'Peace and Freedom' — no real alternative

By Jon Britton

"Your paper has talked scornfully about PFP returning to liberalism, as if a party soon to give its nomination to Eldridge Cleaver is in any danger of doing that! The prophets of the SWP have even gone so far as predict, in conversation, on many occasions, that the PFP will not outlast the election, which is just nonsense." So wrote a California Peace and Freedom Party member in a letter to *The Militant* in early August of this year.

It's true that the Socialist Workers Party does not consider the Peace and Freedom Party to be an anticapitalist alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties. It's also true that the SWP anticipated the tendency within the PFP toward fragmentation and dissolution because of the disparate political forces making up the PFP.

For a time the SWP's assessment of the Peace and Freedom Party appeared to be dogmatic, sectarian and "just nonsense" to many people in the radical movement. This was especially true at the height of the euphoria produced by the PFP ballot victory in California last January. It was this campaign for ballot status, however, that provided the first indication that Peace and Freedom was not destined to be an anticapitalist political alternative.

The ballot drive was organized not around a formal political program or a slate of candidates representing such a program but rather on the basis, primarily, that the Democrats and Republicans were not going to provide the American people with a "peace and freedom" presidential choice in the 1968 election.

To gain ballot status for the PFP in California as a recognized political party, approximately 67,000 qualified voters had to be registered into Peace and Freedom. The support of liberal Democrats was actively solicited by assuring them in newspaper ads and letters that they could reg-

ister Peace and Freedom first and later reregister as Democrats.

Boosted by the prospect of a Nixon-Wallace-LBJ line-up in November the ballot drive succeeded beyond anyone's expectations, with over 100,000 people registering Peace and Freedom by the early January deadline. Tens of thousands of liberal Democrats registered Peace and Freedom, and members of virtually every radical organization except the Socialist Workers Party joined up to get in on the action.

In late March of this year, *after* the ballot drive, a "founding convention" of the Peace and Freedom Party was held in Richmond, Calif. The main political tendencies in attendance were the Communist Party, the Independent Socialist Club, Progressive Labor Party and liberal Democrats. A number of politically unaffiliated antiwar activists also attended.

The convention delegates voted to launch a permanent "radical" political party and to make the projected election campaign serve this goal. The new party was to unite the diverse political tendencies at the convention, including the liberals, around a "minimum program" to which all could agree. This meant that the program had to be limited to the least common denominator—the liberal Democrats' criticism of "the system's" uglier aspects.

The "policy statement" actually adopted in Richmond attacks various ills of "the system" and calls for a series of reforms, including the militant demand that the U. S. withdraw from Vietnam, but it fails to call for overturning capitalism as the only permanent solution to these ills.

Five months later the Peace and Freedom Party "national convention" in Ann Arbor, Mich., adopted a "policy statement" which is a very brief, watered-down version of the one adopted in Richmond.

The net result is a program that contains



Judith Mage

no basic solutions and glosses over many political differences within the organization which were bound to break out in other forms.

This is graphically illustrated by the present fragmentation of the Peace and Freedom movement nationally and in a number of states. In New York, for example, there are a Freedom and Peace Party and, within the Peace and Freedom Party, two rival local groupings. The political differences nationally have produced two rival presidential candidates, Eldridge Cleaver and Dick Gregory, at least six vice-presidential candidates, and a number of rival local candidates. Ballot status has been achieved in only 10 states.

The opportunist, reformist character of the Peace and Freedom Party movement has come into sharper focus recently as a result of the pressures generated by the approaching election.

Judith Mage is the vice-presidential candidate chosen by the New York PFP to "balance" the national candidacy of Eldridge Cleaver. She is a former president of the Social Service Employees Union.

Speaking at a Manhattan PFP election rally Oct. 17, Mage justified the PFP's lack of a socialist program: "The Peace and Freedom Party can't speak in the language of social revolution if we want to get through to people. When I talked to people upstate [she had just returned from a speaking tour] I talked to them about turning the \$72 billion military budget into building decent housing, schools, parks . . . I told them to stop accepting the lesser evil argument with which we have been blackmailed for the past decades . . ."

In practice, however, Mage continues to be "blackmailed." A few weeks ago she "personally" endorsed Paul O'Dwyer, New York Democratic senatorial "peace" candidate, at a membership meeting of the Social Service Employees Union which then went on to vote formal union endorsement to O'Dwyer. Participating on a panel Oct. 18, which included SWP senatorial candidate Hedda Garza, Mage stated that she would "probably vote for O'Dwyer." This is how the major New York PFP candidate "educates" young radicals on the need to "stop accepting the lesser evil argument."

The other major New York PFP candidate is Dave McReynolds, who is running for Congress in the 19th congressional district. McReynolds is a member of the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas (which is supporting Humphrey in this election), is a registered Democrat and was an active supporter of McCarthy.

In an article published in the July 11 issue of *The Village Voice*, McReynolds disclosed that he had "voted for the McCarthy slate in the primary because, perhaps irrationally, I can't view McCarthy as simply another Democrat. If," he added, "McCarthy gets the nomination the Democratic Party will take on the appearance of the party of quasi-radical social change and America will have blundered through once again."

McReynolds doesn't view O'Dwyer as "simply another Democrat" either. In a recent panel at the City College of New York, McReynolds praised O'Dwyer's record and stated that he welcomed voters' support to O'Dwyer as "a step in the right direction."

Another speaker at the Oct. 17 PFP rally was William Kunstler, the well-known civil liberties attorney. Kunstler described the increasing repression against black mili-

tants and went on to call for unity of all political forces "to the left of center." He concluded with a carefully camouflaged but unmistakable appeal for people to vote for — Humphrey.

Eldridge Cleaver, presidential candidate of the PFP, also spoke at the Oct. 17 rally. It's apparent that Cleaver conceives of his campaign as nothing but a Yippee-type put-on, a parody of a presidential campaign. The bulk of his speech was devoted to a witty, sometimes hilarious, but not very enlightening derision of "the pigs," liberally sprinkled with the profanities he is becoming famous for. Cleaver urged people to boycott the election, "especially if you're planning to vote for one of the pigs."

The various Peace and Freedom campaigns do not serve to educate young radicals about the ruling-class character of the Democratic and Republican parties and the need for independence from and opposition to the politics of the capitalist class. On the contrary, these campaigns serve to mis-educate young radicals and foster illusions that something less than the overturn of capitalism can solve the problems of war and racism.

The various fragments of the Peace and Freedom movement stand as obstacles to building a real revolutionary party in the United States, a party that can lead a successful socialist revolution.

Nevertheless, many young radicals have learned valuable lessons as a result of their experiences with the Peace and Freedom debacle. We understand that the young PFP'er who wrote the letter quoted above is now an *ex*-PFP'er and a supporter of the Socialist Workers campaign.

Rosenshine has successful N.Y. tour for YSA

Dan Rosenshine, national field secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, has just completed a speaking tour of the New York region. He traveled over 1,000 miles in this area, ranging from New Brunswick, N.J., to Buffalo, N.Y.,

Speaking on the topic, "From Student Revolt to Socialist Revolution," Rosenshine addressed students at Hunter, Brooklyn Polytech, Columbia, Brooklyn College and Queens College in New York City. SDS members helped organize a large meeting for him at the Rutgers campus in New Brunswick.

The composition of the audiences ranged from O'Dwyer supporters to young people who consider themselves socialists and are looking forward to the Young Socialist Alliance national conference to be held in Chicago over the Thanksgiving weekend. Among these young socialists were a number of students newly won to radical ideas, including freshmen and fraternity members. At all the meetings, there were good discussions and indications of great interest in socialism.

Rosenshine wound up this leg of his national tour in upper New York State. As a result, people joined the YSA in Albany, Binghamton, Buffalo, and Rochester. YSA locals were established in both Albany and Binghamton.

Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle discuss black party

In an article entitled "Where the Struggle for a Black Party Stands Today," the latest issue of the *Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle Newsletter* assesses the progress toward the formation of a black party independent of the Republicans and Democrats. Support for the building of a black political party has been one of the main themes of the SWP campaign.

The article, written by Tony Thomas, points out that "the growth of the Black Panther Party on a national scale, as well as the Newark United Brothers Campaign and the Lowndes County Alabama Panthers, shows the depth of sentiment for, and the steps that are being taken towards, the formation of an independent black party."

Describing the Black Panther Party as "one of the most important recent developments in the black liberation movement," Thomas points out that from their original base in Oakland, Calif., the Panthers have spread to other parts of the West Coast and across the country, with branches in New York, New Jersey, Chicago, Cleveland, Boston, Iowa, Detroit, Indiana and

Nebraska.

The article attacks "those who have criticized the 10-point program of the Panthers because 'it is not revolutionary'" and goes on to explain that the principal demand of the program — black control of the black community — "cannot be brought about without the destruction of capitalism."

"Black control of the community would mean smashing the control of the white capitalist rulers over the lives of black people—schools, places of business, and other institutions of the black community," Thomas says. "This cannot be done without a revolutionary confrontation with capitalism."

"Such a demand sets the black masses into action against the imperialist rulers while at the same time relating to the present level of consciousness of the black masses."

The article criticizes the Black Panther Party's electoral alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party, while at the same time pointing out that the Panthers' decision to run candidates in the election was "another major advance" of the BPP.

AFRO-AMERICANS FOR HALSTEAD AND BOUTELLE NEWSLETTER

Special issue: *WHERE THE STRUGGLE FOR A BLACK PARTY STANDS TODAY*

Single copies 10c; 5 or more copies, 8c each

Enclosed is \$ for copies of the AAHB Newsletter.

Name

Address

City State Zip

Send to: Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

How to speak out of three sides of your mouth

The CP's slippery election policy

By Dick Roberts
Recent letters to the American Communist Party newspaper *Daily World* indicate increasing doubt in and around CP circles about the CP's 1968 election strategy.

In Washington and Minnesota, the CP is running its own presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Charlene Mitchell and Mike Zagarell. In other states it is supporting various third-party candidates, most notably the Freedom and Peace campaign in New York State headed by Dick Gregory.

And the *Daily World* is giving considerable publicity to various Democratic Party "peace" candidates. It publicized attempts to put Eugene McCarthy on the ballot long after he lost the Democratic Party nomination; it has devoted page after page to the New York State senatorial campaign of Democrat Paul O'Dwyer.

Daily World editors attempted to explain their election policy Oct. 3. According to them, it supports candidates "who are anti-war and pro-peace"; it offers "independent candidates for congress in districts where the old-line capitalist parties' candidates are reactionaries"; and it is supposed to mount "continuing pressure on the candidates of the capitalist parties to force change on them."

One is asked to support capitalist candidates who are "opponents of the war and of racism." Where there is "no such choice," one should vote or write in a vote for various candidates outside the two major parties.



HERMAN FERGUSON. Officially, CP supports him, but *Daily World* is campaigning for O'Dwyer.

Big antiwar action set for Nov. 9 in Boston

By Linda Sheppard
BOSTON, Oct. 23—The November Ninth Mobilization Committee, a broad coalition of antiwar organizations, has set Nov. 9 as the date for a mass march and rally against the war in Vietnam here.

The action is receiving the broadest support that has ever been gained for such an action in this area. Clerical, legal, medical, liberal, radical, faculty and student organizations are sponsoring the demonstration.

The central theme of the Boston march and rally will be support to the GIs by demanding that they be brought home now. A concerted effort is being made to get the active participation of GIs in the march, and an open mike will be provided at the afternoon rally on the Boston Common for any servicemen who wish to speak.

Teams of students from Boston campuses are leafleting GIs at nearby Fort Devins and in downtown Boston. The

The application of this "two pronged" approach, the *Daily World* editors say, will "unify" those "forces in American society that are decisive for the achievement of the changes needed in the nation."

But the so-called two-pronged approach is essentially a continuation in changed form of the long-standing CP policy of supporting capitalist candidates, especially Democrats. Some readers of the *Daily World* are beginning to ask questions about it.

For instance, in a letter published Oct. 16, young Freedom and Peace activist Frank Goldsmith asks why *Daily World* reporter Mike Davidow continued to support McCarthy after he lost the nomination: "Davidow's writing would have people think that voting and supporting a candidate for President in New York State who does *not* want to run for office is more important than voting for a candidate that *does* want to run for the Presidency [Dick Gregory]."

The contradiction is even more glaring in the case of the *Daily World's* publicity for Democrat O'Dwyer at the same time that the CP is backing Freedom and Peace candidate Herman Ferguson. They are both running for U. S. senator from New York.

A letter written by CP youth leader Paul Friedman, printed in the Oct. 19 *Daily World*, takes Davidow to task for supporting O'Dwyer: "Actually I am of the opinion that a vote for Herman Ferguson . . . would be of much greater value. We must do the most to encourage a vote for the Freedom and Peace ticket."

Checking out the *Daily World's* coverage of these two campaigns since Sept. 1, we counted over 30 articles containing over 300 paragraphs on the McCarthy-O'Dwyer campaigns. Herman Ferguson was mentioned in only six articles with a total of 22 paragraphs.

The explanation of this apparent discrepancy is that the CP is not serious about the Freedom and Peace campaign. It is using this campaign and its own Mitchell-Zagarell campaign as a cover for its fundamental support of "lesser evil" capitalist candidates, above all in the Democratic Party.

This will be clearer if we look at Davidow's reply to the Goldsmith letter cited above, which appeared in the Oct. 19 *Daily World*. "No more urgent question faces America's democratic forces," says Davidow, "than achieving unity in action in face of what is in fact a rising fascist danger . . ."

"The various independent political movements, those still operating in the Democratic Party and those which have gone beyond the two party system, constitute an important element in that united front. Thus their mutual relationship is of vital concern . . ."

"What is needed . . . is to aid this process and give it the most effective direction. To achieve this, cooperation, rather than

servicemen's reaction has been highly favorable. While leafleting at Fort Devins, two young women were arrested by military police. As they were being driven away in an MP car, they made the "V" sign, and a crowd of soldiers that had gathered around the car returned the sign. The women were driven to the post gate and released.

A special leaflet has been issued for GIs which describes the success of the Oct. 12 GI and Vet March for Peace in San Francisco and urges the GIs to march with thousands in Boston who support their right to speak out against the war and who want all GIs brought home now. The leaflet includes a statement by Boston lawyers informing GIs of their constitutional right to demonstrate.

The march will leave the Boston Common at 10:30 a.m. and culminate with a speakers' rally on the Common at 1 p.m.

For further information in the Boston area, call 864-5225.

narrow partisan competition, should be stressed."

Davidow's argument is a combination of demagoguery and political duplicity. He uses the term "fascism" rather light mindedly. Not so long ago Davidow wrote an article in which he said that CP general secretary Gus Hall called the Nixon-Agnew slate "racist, reactionary and fascist-like" (*Daily World*, Aug. 13, 1968); the Goldwater campaign in 1964 was "racist, reactionary and fascist-like," etc., etc.

This is supposed to scare people into voting for the Democratic Party. One has to ask what kind of "unity" Davidow is talking about. Where would it be?

He wants to unify political movements "inside and outside" the Democratic Party, but it cannot be both ways. This has the effect, as deliberately intended, of keeping people entrapped in Democratic Party politics.

The alleged two-pronged approach has been forced on the CP by the circumstances of the 1968 elections. It cannot come out directly for Democratic Party presidential candidate Humphrey, the way it supported Johnson in 1964, because of the deepened radicalization of the people the CP is trying to attract.

It makes a show of supporting the Freedom and Peace campaign and even runs its own candidates on a token basis, to appeal to those forces who have broken with the Democratic Party. But this is not going very far. These campaigns have not broken with capitalist politics. At most, they are pressure campaigns on the capitalist parties.

The Oct. 19 *Daily World* carries an article on CP candidate Zagarell, who "met his first New Left critic" at a meeting at Brandeis University. "It's not enough to talk revolutionary phrases to bring about a Socialist revolution," Zagarell told the meeting.

"Criticizing some on the Left for 'aloofness from real life problems' he warned that ignoring real issues before the workers . . . has 'created a vacuum that allows George Wallace to do his dirty work.'"

It is another version of the same line. Zagarell dodges the fundamental issue, which is the necessity of completely and totally breaking with capitalist politics and building a revolutionary movement against capitalism. He wants to stick to the "real life problems," "the mainstream," etc., etc., in other words, "achieving cooperation" with lesser-evil capitalist candidates.

Those people inside the CP and around it who are beginning to question the seemingly contradictory character of its election strategy would do well to study its past



GUS HALL. Principal CP spokesman for reformist politics of that organization.

history on this question. In fact, the policy it is following in the 1968 elections in relation to the Democratic Party was laid down in 1936.

At that time the CP ran its own presidential candidate, Earl Browder. But then, as now, its real intention was to support the Democratic Party "lesser evil," Franklin Roosevelt. Here is how Browder described his 1936 election strategy in an article written last year:

"My final argument [was] that if we really wished to assure Roosevelt's re-election we would not endorse him because that would cause him to be labeled 'the Communist candidate' by the newspapers, most of which opposed him . . ."

"On the other hand we could put up our own candidate but conduct such a campaign that would assure Roosevelt all votes under our influence except the diehard opponents of all 'capitalist' candidates . . ."

"Thus I became the logical Communist presidential candidate and made my ambiguous campaign in favor of 'my rival' Roosevelt. The more the newspapers puzzled over this tactic, the more effective it became." (*As We Saw the Thirties*, p. 234)

It is with the same utter cynicism and contempt for the people it manipulates, that the CP today is giving lip service to the candidacy of Herman Ferguson. "All votes under our influence"—in other words, those who really understand the party line—are doing leg work for O'Dwyer.

We urge those young people who not only want to make a complete break with Democratic Party politics, but who want to build a revolutionary movement against capitalism, to support the Socialist Workers campaign.

This is the way to unify forces which are truly opposed to the Vietnam war and support the black struggle for black political power: outside the capitalist political system and on a principled program of revolutionary opposition to it.

HHH speaks out on law and order -- more money for more cops

By Robert Langston
Hubert H. Humphrey, in a major policy speech on nationwide TV Oct. 12, took the offensive on "law and order." Speaking of "crime and riots," the Vice President vowed that as President he "would stop these outrages whatever the cost."

The Hump was not referring to the brutal, racist attack by off-duty cops on a group of Black Panthers in a Brooklyn courthouse last Sept. 4. He was not referring to the sadistic killing by policemen of three blacks in Detroit's Algiers Motel summer before last; he was not referring to the behavior of his colleague Mayor Daley's police force during the Democratic national convention which gave him the nomination.

He was referring to the actions of the victims, not the perpetrators, of these crimes and riots.

For he insisted that the "first problem" is that police forces are underpaid and undermanned. More money for more cops—that is the heart of Humphrey's "law and order" proposal.

The whole emphasis in Humphrey's "law enforcement" platform is on greater centralization and efficiency. His "special panel on

order and justice" issued a report on Sept. 16 which was the basis of the Hump's Oct. 12 speech. This report calls, among other things, for:

- "Appointment of a second Deputy Attorney General responsible for administering the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act.
 - "Development of Federal law-enforcement technical assistance teams to respond to local requests for help.
 - "Creation of regional criminal justice centers to develop and evaluate law enforcement programs and new ideas."
 - The establishment by the Federal Government of "an ambitious and comprehensive research and development program to develop new law-enforcement techniques and to design new crime-prevention devices."
 - Maintenance, by the Federal Government, of "small, highly trained National Guard riot-control units on continual alert, for short-term service in any community."
- The establishment of a small elite "riot" police force; overall supervision of police activities by a central, federal agency; application of the most advanced scientific techniques in police work: that is Hubert Humphrey's proposal for dealing with the demands of black people.

Black high school student describes Chicago action

By Wanda Jones

CHICAGO—Thornton Township High School has an administration which continually insists that there is racial harmony among the students of the institution.

Young people from approximately 10 areas attend Thornton—and not in racial harmony. Incidents during the period of Friday afternoon, Oct. 11, through Friday morning, Oct. 18, dispute the administration's contention that Thornton is the "ideal high school."

On Oct. 11, Dr. Omer Renfrow, principal of Thornton High, received a "before first period Monday" deadline on five demands from the chairman of Black Student Liberation. The letter from Black Student Liberation was printed in the *Thorntonite*, the school publication, on Oct. 16. The demands were: 1) A course in black history with credit going toward graduation—taught by a black teacher. 2) Black counselors. 3) More black cheerleaders—the junior-varsity cheerleaders have only one now, and the varsity has none! 4) Soul music at PXs, as was promised by the president of the KIP. 5) More black representation in school activities.

Monday began the first of long discussions between black students, and Dr. Renfrow and his immediate staff. The Monday meeting lasted five hours without any final decision. More meetings only brought more disgust. On Tuesday, after school, black students concluded that the only possible way to receive any action would be to stage a walkout. White students then

presented their own demands.

It was ironic that this should occur at a rather happy event—preparations for Homecoming weekend. The gaiety of decorating floats was dispelled by an outbreak by white students at an assembly. The assembly announced the members of Homecoming Court. Out of 20, nine blacks were nominated. This was a rarity indeed.

Friday morning, approximately 150 students walked out shortly after classes began. The action by the students resulted in a display of force by local and county police (this means the billy club, with Mace and tear gas standing by, just in case). Mayor Haines imposed a curfew from 10:30 a.m. Friday until 7 a.m. Saturday. (Haines is well known as an "I love Daley" man.)

Shortly after the walkout, in which 50 blacks participated, students scuffled at the main high-school intersection. The leaders of both black and white organizations agreed on one point—that school authorities meet separately with white and black students. Students known to have participated in the walkout were suspended.



Wanda Jones

Mass boycott hits Chicago high schools

By Wilbur Allen

CHICAGO, Oct. 15—During the past four weeks there have been mass walkouts of black students against the racist Chicago school system.

The Black Students for Defense, a city-wide black student organization, is demanding Afro-American history, a black school board, the observance of black holidays (including the birthdays of Malcolm X, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey and Martin Luther King), revised military training, better lunchroom food, and more homework to challenge black students.

After the Black Students for Defense called a "Solidarity Day for Liberation" for today, 35,000 students boycotted school and 5,000 students came out for a rally at Crane High School. This was followed by a march of 780 students to the board of education where they met with a flunky of the superintendent of schools. A contingent of 75 students then marched to City Hall, where they met with an administrative assistant to Mayor "shoot-to-kill" Daley.

Although there were no incidents along the route of the march and the students were orderly, several hundred cops in full riot gear patrolled the outskirts of the demonstration.

A spokesman for the Black Students for Defense has said that "liberation schools" will be set up for those who participate in further walkouts.

At Harrison High School, 200 Spanish-speaking students joined the walkout, rallying to the demand for a Latin American assistant principal.

There are 35,000 black students out on the streets today in Chicago!

OCT. 22—A second mass citywide boycott of Chicago high schools took place Oct. 21, one week after the first walkout. More than 700 teachers joined 40,000 students in the boycott, which emptied many of the South and West Side high schools of a large percentage of students. Students from over 20 different high schools took part.

The mass action took place despite threats by School Superintendent James Redmond that he would take legal action against the students involved. Victor Adams, one of the leaders of the revolt at Harrison High School, was taken into custody during the week, when students attempted to hold a meeting in the school cafeteria.

A rally of thousands of students, held in downtown Chicago, took place on the day of the second boycott.

Seattle cop goes free in killing of Panther

By Debbie Leonard

SEATTLE, Oct. 20—Sixteen cops lined a courtroom here for the two-day coroner's inquest into the killing of Black Panther Welton Armstead by a Seattle cop. Everyone passed through a double line of cops in the corridor and was frisked before he entered the courtroom. Despite numerous state witnesses, including pathologists, detectives, cops, and criminologists, and after the predictable "justifiable homicide" verdict was reached, many questions remain unanswered, and criticism of the proceedings continues to mount in the black community.

More than 100 people, mostly black, filled the courtroom for each session. One of the points in dispute was whether the bullet entered Armstead's body from the front or the back. Only one person, Dr. Gale Wilson, chief autopsy surgeon for the county, actually examined the body itself before it was prepared for burial.

Dr. Wilson, who happens to be the brother-in-law of King County Prosecutor Charles O. Carroll, claimed the bullet entered through the left chest. Dr. John Green, neurologist associated with the University of Washington, who examined the body on the family's request at the funeral home, expressed the opinion that Armstead could have been shot from behind. He requested that further pathological investigation, including X-rays, be conducted, but this was denied.

Armstead's mother, Mrs. Gladys Mapps, had been arrested for "attempted assault of an officer" as she rushed toward the cops, screaming, "Please don't shoot my son." She sharply criticized the cops, saying that if they had stopped shooting and examined what was going on, she was certain she could have prevented the whole thing. Armstead's stepfather testified that instead of listening to what his wife was saying, the cops shouted, "Get that bitch out of here."



Welton Butch Armstead

A cop slammed Armstead's 16-year-old sister against a patrol car and banged her head repeatedly against the door as she also attempted to prevent the shooting. She was arrested for "interfering with an arrest."

Other conflicting reports were given on the number of shots fired. Erling I. Buttedahl, the cop identified as having killed Armstead, claimed that he shot three times, but examination of his gun showed he had fired four shots. Witnesses stated they heard many more. There was even some doubt as to whether Buttedahl or another cop had fired the fatal shot.

However, the 16 cops comprising the "security force" which occupied the courtroom, who observed the witnesses and spectators closely, helped to assure that these unanswered questions would be brushed under the rug. After two hours of deliberation, the jury, composed of five whites and one older black woman, reached the unanimous verdict—"justifiable homicide."

Kenneth A. MacDonald, chairman of the state board against discrimination, criticized the police handling of the inquest and said the large number of officers present made him feel he was in a "police state." The board wrote letters to the corporation counsel, Prosecutor Charles O. Carroll, county commissioners and the superior court inquiring about procedures for providing police security.

The president of the United Black Front, Dave Mills, announced that his group would conduct their own investigation into the killing.

Hits Seattle mayor on Panther smear

SEATTLE—Debbie Leonard, Socialist Workers nominee for U.S. senator, attacked Seattle Mayor Dorm Braman for his assertion that Seattle is the target of a conspiracy to foment guerrilla warfare.

"I am particularly concerned," she wrote to the mayor, "that you single out the Black Panther Party, and by implication the majority of the black community, as being the nerve center . . . of your alleged conspiracy."

Noting that she has seen most of the material circulated by the Black Panthers, she said she had seen nothing in this material to substantiate such a charge. In fact, she added, "it appears to me that the Panthers have done a remarkable job of attempting to publicize and win support for their views."

If there is any conspiracy, the Socialist Workers spokesman continued, it is the racist police attacks on the black community, including illegal raids on the Panther office. The police she said, are trying to thwart the political organization of the black community. The shooting of black people, such as Welton Butch Armstead, by police, she charged, are "acts of political assassination."

Black Phila. students resist racist attacks

By Joel Aber

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 20—Thousands of Afro-American students at several Philadelphia high schools have responded to intensified racist hysteria, demonstrating the effectiveness of mass action in demanding black control of the black community. As a dramatization of their demands, the students at one high school seized control of their school so that they could discuss for 24 hours the racial oppression which has stifled their education.

The political action of high-school students throughout the city began as a magnificent display of solidarity with the black students threatened by racist mobs at Bok Technical High School. Students at Bok, which is 88 percent black and located in the heart of all-white, predominantly Italian, South Philadelphia, had been subjected to physical attacks by racist thugs while on their way to school.

The racist hysteria among South Philadelphia whites reached a fever pitch two weeks ago. Hundreds of whites, wielding bricks and bottles, gathered around the school at dismissal time. Busloads of police were sent to the scene to cordon the students from the mob. On Thursday and Friday, Oct. 10 and 11, Mayor Tate ordered Bok and neighboring South Philadelphia High School closed to "cool down the tension," after rumors were reported in the news media to the effect that the black students at the two schools were planning to defend themselves.

The racists in South Philadelphia staged a march last Monday, demanding that Bok be closed permanently. "It doesn't matter if you're a Jew or a Polack; if you're white this demonstration is for you," shouted one of the march organizers over a bullhorn.

Tuesday evening City Councilman Thomas Foglietta met with 200 whites in a South Philadelphia police station and attempted to be conciliatory to their racist demands. But apparently he was not conciliatory enough. When he suggested the eventual permanent closing of Bok, *The*

Philadelphia Inquirer reports that he was shouted down with cries of, "Burn the school down now," and "We need another Mussolini."

Meanwhile at Olney High School black students gathered in the auditorium to listen to a militant black speaker and to demand more control over their school. The high point of the black student demonstrations came on Tuesday, Oct. 15, when the students at nearly all-black Benjamin Franklin High School, led by the student government leaders, requested of the principal that all the white teachers be asked to leave the school so that the students could meet by themselves and formulate demands for improving their education. The principal acquiesced to their demands, and the students stayed in the school all night. Parents brought them food, which they cooked in the school cafeteria.

The demands drawn up by the students included the appointment of a black athletic director, replacement of the eight present white department heads with at least some black department heads, and assurances that Swahili and Afro-American history will become part of the regular curriculum.

The board of education agreed to all of these demands and said it would seriously study the students' request to change the school's name from Benjamin Franklin to Malcolm X High School.

On Wednesday, Frank Sullivan, president of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, joined city officials in denouncing the presence of "outsiders" in the schools. Sullivan's years of teaching experience apparently had given him no hint that students at an all-black high school might regard white teachers, not black community members, as the outsiders. He also spoke threateningly about possible strike action unless the school board agrees to stand tough in not letting students and parents run the schools, thus placing the union squarely on the side of the racist city administration and against the black community.

SWP state and local candidates in Nov. 5 General Election

CALIFORNIA (write-in, except as indicated):

Peter Camejo, U. S. senator
Carl Frank, U. S. congressman, 5th district
Bob Himmel, U. S. congressman, 6th district
Phil Passen, U. S. congressman, 17th district
John Gray, U. S. congressman, 29th district
Jim Kendrick, state senator, 9th district
Derrell Myers, state senator, 11th district
Dianne Feeley, state assemblyman, 19th district
Milton Chee, state assemblyman, 20th district
Sylvia Weinstein, state assemblyman, 23rd district

GEORGIA (write-in):

Cliff Connor, U. S. senator

ILLINOIS (write-in):

Dan Styron, U. S. senator
Carl Finamore, governor
Lynn Henderson, U. S. congressman, 2nd district

INDIANA (on ballot):

Ralph Levitt, U. S. senator

MICHIGAN (on ballot):

John Belisle, U. S. congressman, 2nd district
Frank Lovell, U. S. congressman, 12th district
Henry Austin, U. S. congressman, 16th district
James Griffin, U. S. congressman, 17th district
Sarah Lovell, U. S. congressman, 18th district
Ellen Robinson, state board of education
Evelyn Sell, state board of education

George Bouse, Michigan State University trustee

Paul Lodico, Michigan State University trustee

Helen Schiff, University of Michigan trustee

Evelyn Kirsh, Wayne State University board of governors

Joseph Sanders, Wayne State University board of governors

Robert Fink, Wayne County sheriff

Edith Gbur, Wayne County clerk

Edward D'Angelo, Wayne County auditor

MINNESOTA (on ballot):

David Thorstad, U. S. congressman, 3rd district

OHIO (write-in):

Eric Reinthaler, U. S. senator

Dave Wulp, U. S. congressman, 22nd district

NEW YORK (write-in, except as indicated):

Hedda Garza, U. S. senator (on ballot)

Judy White, U. S. congressman, 17th district

Peter Buch, U. S. congressman, 19th district

Derrick Morrison, U. S. congressman, 20th district

Richard Garza, U. S. congressman, 22nd district

PENNSYLVANIA (on ballot):

Pearl Chertov, U. S. senator

Fred Stanton, auditor general

Richard Lesnik, state treasurer

WASHINGTON (on ballot):

Debbie Leonard, U. S. senator

Will Reissner, state legislator, 32nd district

WISCONSIN (on ballot):

Bob Wilkinson, governor

SWP senatorial candidates



Eric Reinthaler, Ohio



Peter Camejo, California



Hedda Garza, New York



Pearl Chertov, Pennsylvania



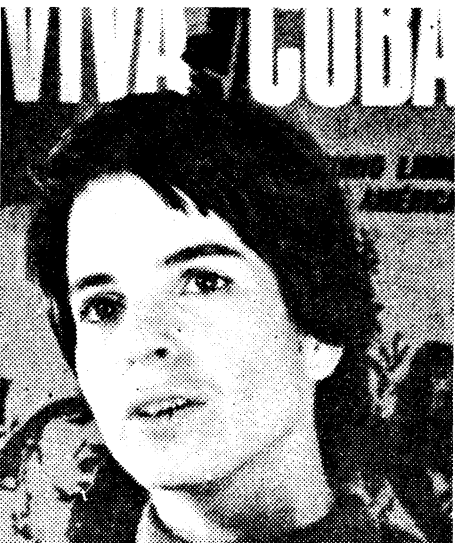
Dan Styron, Illinois



Cliff Connor, Georgia



Ralph Levitt, Indiana



Debbie Leonard, Washington

Freedom slate in Lowndes County

By Nelson Blackstock

Every now and then someone asks about what has happened to the Lowndes County Freedom Party, the original "Black Panther Party" founded in Lowndes County, Alabama, in 1966.

I visited Lowndes County, Alabama, recently to find the answer to this question and found that the Freedom Party is still very strong, with a full slate of candidates

Mandel talk set for Columbia U.

Ernest Mandel, noted Marxist scholar and editor-in-chief of the Belgian left-socialist weekly, *La Gauche*, will wind up his two-month speaking tour in this country with a big public meeting at Wollman Auditorium, Columbia University, Wednesday, Oct. 30, at 8 p.m. The theme of his talk will be "The Dynamics of World Revolution Today."

Since his appearance as "the star performer" at the Socialist Scholars Conference at Rutgers early in September, Mandel has been in great demand throughout the academic community. In the past six weeks he has given talks and participated in seminars on Marxist economics, the theory of alienation and the problems of Soviet economy at more than 30 universities.

The revolutionary ideas he has presented have been assailed by *Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly*, by the conservative columnist William Buckley, and in front-page editorials in the Hearst press signed by Editor-in-chief William Randolph Hearst, Jr. They have met with an altogether different response from his university audiences, which have numbered over 600 at the University of Wisconsin, 450 at Berkeley and several hundreds on other campuses.

entered in this fall's elections.

Last spring a black woman ran for office in Lowndes in the Democratic primary and was defeated by a significantly greater margin than the Freedom Party had been defeated by in the previous election. This has quieted those who said black people could win office in Lowndes if they would only abandon their own party and go into the Democratic Party. In the past the Black Panther Party has received close to 50 percent of the vote.

"We would be supporting those already in office if we just went down and registered as Democrats," I was told by Freedom Party chairman Frank Myers.

During my visit, party activist John Henson showed me a combination service station and supermarket which is being built by the Lowndes County Co-op. "I am proud to say that all the financing has come from the people in the county," he told me. He said they were hesitant about getting assistance from the federal government, because, "If you go to the government, you have to sell your birth rights."

I also talked with John Hulett, the founder of the Black Panther Party, and asked him what problems the party is faced with in the coming elections. He mentioned that some of the people on the plantations were still intimidated by the foremen and that bosses from the plantations are brought in to serve as officials in the election proceedings. The federal observers who have been brought in are not competent, he said. If a black person is used as an observer he is a "Tom."

I visited one of the weekly Sunday meetings held jointly by four organizations in Lowndes County—the Lowndes County Freedom Party, South-Central Alabama Farmers Organization, Lowndes County Co-op and the Lowndes County Christian Movement—with the chairmanship rotating between the organizations. These meetings are well attended and reflect the continuing vitality of the movement.

SWP election conference set for New York, Nov. 3

NEW YORK — East Coast regional supporters of the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of Halstead and Boutelle are holding an election rally and conference here on Nov. 3, the Sunday before the elections.

The rally will be at 8 p.m. at the Empire Hotel, 63rd St. and Broadway.

The conference will be on the theme, "The Revolutionary Road: Nov. 5 and After." It will be from noon to 6 p.m. in the Butler Library at Columbia University, 116th St. and Broadway.

Speakers at the evening rally will include Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for President; Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Vice

President; Hedda Garza, the party's candidate for senator from New York and Ralph Schoenman, secretary-general of the International War Crimes Tribunal.

The afternoon conference will feature three panel discussions: GI Rights in the Fight Against the War; Black Political Power and Action; and What Strategy for the Antiwar Movement? Participants in the GI panel will include civil-liberties attorneys Michael Kennedy of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and Rowland Watts of the Workers Defense League, and Sp/4 Allen Myers, a recent victor in a GI civil-liberties case.

Herman Ferguson, Freedom and Peace Party candidate for U.S. senator from N. Y., will join Clifton DeBerry, 1964 presidential candidate of the SWP; Muhammad Hunt, director of Brooklyn SNCC; and a representative of the Brooklyn Black Panther Party for the panel on black power.

Dave Dellinger, chairman of the National Mobilization Committee, and Fred Halstead will address the panel on the antiwar movement.

A contribution of \$2.00 will be requested for admission to both the panels and the rally; \$1.50, to the panels alone; and \$1, to the rally alone.

For further information, call (212) 982-6279.

Vote for Curtis Harris, Seattle Black Panther



CURTIS HARRIS. Seattle Socialist Workers Party urges vote for Black Panther Party candidate for Washington State legislator, 37th district, position two.

Socialists on TV

Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, will appear on a program sponsored by National Educational Television on Thursday, Nov. 1. Check your local station for the time. It will be a special program on "The Minority Candidates: Where They Stand," and will include presidential candidates Charlene Mitchell of the Communist Party and Eldridge Cleaver of the Peace and Freedom Party. The broadcast will be nationwide to 140 stations.

Halstead will appear on the Joey Bishop show (WABC-TV) Oct. 30, and Paul Boutelle will appear on the same show Nov. 4.

In New York, SWP senatorial candidate Hedda Garza will be on channel 7 at 3 p.m., Oct. 27, and on channel 2 at 4:50 p.m. the same day. On Oct. 28 she will appear on channel 9 at noon. On Nov. 4 Hedda Garza will be on the Barry Gray radio show at 11 a.m., WMCA radio.

Trials start for Ft. Hood GIs who wouldn't go to Chicago

OCT. 24 — The court-martials of 19 Fort Hood black soldiers who demonstrated against going to Chicago during the Democratic convention began Oct. 22, when the first six soldiers came to trial.

The men face up to five years at hard labor, dishonorable discharge, and forfeiture of all the allowances and civilian benefits GIs are entitled to after discharge. Michael Kennedy of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee will be the civilian lawyer for the GIs.

The demonstration took place on Aug. 23 when rumors began to circulate at Fort Hood that the First and Second Armoured Divisions would be sent to Chicago for riot duty. One hundred twenty-five black soldiers from those divisions met in a parking lot at the Fort to talk about the impending call-up and the grievances of the black GIs at Fort Hood. Almost all the men had recently returned from Vietnam.

At about midnight, Major General Boles, the commanding officer of the First Armoured Division met with the men. After

the GIs told him that they did not want to go to Chicago where they might be used to fight black people, Major General Boles gave the GIs permission to remain at the parking lot until they heard from him. He said he would consult with higher authorities to see if they could be exempt from duty in Chicago as a matter of conscience. He promised to report back with an answer. He never returned. Instead, at 5:45 a.m. the PostProvost Marshall arrived with an MP company and ordered the remaining 60 men to return to their companies. Minutes later, the MPs arrested 43 of the demonstrators. The prisoners were held incommunicado, subjected to intensive interrogation and beaten.

The "Fort Hood 43" were all charged with failure to respond to a lawful order to disperse—but they have been treated in different ways. Charges against two of the GIs were dismissed, 22 were referred to a lower Army court where 10 were acquitted and 12 received prison sentences ranging from three to six months.

Black Liberation Notes

Martyred

Pierre Mulele, the well-known Congolese rebel leader, is dead. He was executed by the reactionary Mobutu regime, apparently the morning of Oct. 9.

Mulele was the Congo's first Minister of Education under Premier Patrice Lumumba in 1960. After the murder of Lumumba in 1961, Mulele became a minister in the pro-Lumumbist government of Antoine Gizenga in Stanleyville and when Gizenga was jailed by the Leopoldville government in 1962, Mulele formed a rebel army to oppose the neocolonialist regime.

In 1963 and 1964 the rebels made heavy inroads into the power of the Leopoldville puppet government, but the revolutionaries suffered a severe defeat in November, 1964, when the U. S., Belgium and Britain parachuted forces into the rebel capital at Stanleyville and carried out a bloody massacre to aid the white mercenary troops of Tshombe.

Mulele returned from exile in Brazzaville last month when the Mobutu government gave assurances that he was included in a general amnesty. But when he arrived in Kinshasa, he found that the promise of amnesty was a trap. He was arrested, with Mobutu claiming that the amnesty applied only to political prisoners, not "war criminals."

Journalists and the public were barred from the mock trial which began Oct. 7. Mulele was denied a request for a lawyer. On Oct. 9, the government announced that the rebel leader had been shot by a firing squad.

The Brazzaville radio paid tribute to Mulele as a national hero and compared him with Che Guevara and Patrice Lumumba.

Denver Panther framed

Denver Black Panther leader Lauren Watson has been arrested on frame-up charges of "conspiring" with eight others to burn a cleaning establishment during a rebellion which took place in the black community on Sept. 12.

Leading up to the arrest, articles appeared in the Denver papers proclaiming the initiation of a campaign to provide more police protection for ghetto businessmen.

In the Sept. 27 *Denver Post*, police Chief Seaton is quoted as blaming the "Negro community's problems" on black militants. He charged Watson, who he referred to as "a self-professed Black Panther," with being part of a general plot to "take over and run things" in Denver.

When asked why he didn't take action against the Panthers, Seaton complained that he had trouble dealing with them because they were "too careful." They are "pretty sharp," he said, "but I hope that I do put Lauren Watson where he does belong." Five days later Watson was arrested.

Defense campaign for Captain Dixon

An active defense campaign is being organized in Seattle against the frame-up of Seattle Black Panther Party Captain Aaron Dixon. On Oct. 18 a defense meeting of over 800 was held at the University of Washington.

A new pamphlet, "Hands Off Aaron Dixon" has been published by the Aaron Dixon Defense Committee. These can be ordered for 25 cents each (20 percent off on orders of 25 or more) from the Aaron Dixon Defense Committee, P. O. Box 15460, Wedgewood Station, Seattle, Washington 98115.

The facts

One of the best summaries of the facts behind the present New York teachers' strike is contained in a little booklet published by the New York Civil Liberties Union.

The booklet, which supports community control of the schools, documents how the United Federation of Teachers leadership created the issue of due process, as they put it, "out of thin air." The board of education's consistent attempts "to scuttle the experiment in Ocean Hill-Brownsville" also come in for attack.

For a copy of "A Report on the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School Controversy," write to the New York Civil Liberties Union, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10010.

— Elizabeth Barnes



Pierre Mulele

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Headlines from the past: It pays to fight back

**Union-Busting FBI Raids
Trotskyist Headquarters
— Moves to Indict Party
Leaders, Union Militants**

— July 5, 1941

**Cannon Answers ‘Sedition’
Charges — Defends Socialist
Ideas on Witness Stand**

— Nov. 29, 1941

**Judge Sentences 18
Minnesota Defendants
— 12 Sentenced to
Prison for 16 Months;
Six Get Terms of a
Year and a Day**

— Dec. 13, 1941

**Supreme Court Throws Out
Petition for Review of
Smith ‘Gag’ Act Case**

— Nov. 27, 1943

**Labor Defense Bodies Lash
Decision of Supreme Court**

— Dec. 4, 1943

**18 Framed SWP Leaders
Go Behind Prison Bars**

— Jan. 8, 1944

**Pardon of Eighteen Urged
By Liberal, Labor Leaders**

— Feb. 12, 1944

**New York Mass Meeting
To Welcome Minneapolis
Case Defendants**

— Jan. 27, 1945

*Post Office Holds Up
2 Issues of The Militant*

— Nov. 21, 1942

*American Civil Liberties Union
Protests Attack on The Militant*

— Nov. 28, 1942

*Militant Defends Mailing Rights
At Washington Post Office Hearing*

— Jan. 23, 1943

*Militant’s Second Class
Mailing Rights Revoked*

— March 13, 1943

*Militant Wins First Round
In Fight for Mailing Rights*

— March 18, 1944

*Postal Authorities Remove
Restrictions on Militant*

— March 25, 1944

Taking time out on the fortieth anniversary of the 1928 founding of The Militant to review our contribution to the fight for civil liberties, one thing becomes strikingly apparent—it really does pay to fight back.

This truism is worth emphasizing because there is a tendency among some radicals to underestimate what can be accomplished in the defense of civil liberties. The underestimation tends to be of a two-sided character. One is a failure to grasp that even reactionary government forces can be moved by effectively applied pressure. The other is a failure to appreciate the extent of popular pro-civil-liberties sentiment and the role it can play when effectively appealed to.

The facsimile headlines on this page indicate the highlights of the principal cases involving The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party since the beginning of World War II. Despite the fact that most of these cases were fought during periods of war or witch-hunt by a small movement, each of them except the World War II Smith Act case ended in victory!

Not every civil-liberties case can be won. But effectively fought, the damage of an attack can be reduced to a minimum and, often, political gain can be registered as the very result of the attack.

In the Smith Act trial of the 18 SWP leaders during World War II, a remarkable amount of labor and liberal support was rallied for the defendants despite their distinctly minority antiwar views. Because of the militant, effective defense, the defendants at least received minimum sentences. And despite the attack, both the SWP and The Militant were more influential when the defendants emerged from prison than when they entered.

The eight-year struggle in behalf of James Kutcher—ranging across the entire McCarthy era—demonstrated that even in periods of witch-hunt, liberties can be effectively defended. The victory of the same period over the Michigan Trucks Act, which would have illegalized minority parties, is a further demonstration of this.

The Indiana "sedition" case shows how an attack can be turned into a rout for the other side.

There, Prosecutor Thomas Hoadley had three Young Socialists, Ralph Levitt, James Bingham and Tom Morgan, indicted under the Indiana Anti-Communist Act on charges of plotting to overthrow the State of Indiana. He apparently thought the prosecution would be the making of his public career.

The case wound up with a legal victory for the defendants. Hoadley left the state and Ralph Levitt is presently running for U.S. senator on the Indiana Socialist Workers ticket.

To repeat: It pays to fight back!

**Socialist Workers Party
Contests New Police-State
Law in Michigan— Temporary
Order Restrains State
Move to Bar SWP Nat’l
Ticket from Ballot**

— April 28, 1952

**Mich. CIO News Defends
Right of SWP to State
Ballot— CIO Paper
Says Trucks Law Is
‘Totalitarian’ Measure**

— June 2, 1952

**ACLU Condemns Trucks Law;
Files High Court Brief**

— March 30, 1953

**Labor, Liberals Hit
Police-State Law in
Mich. — Inspiring
Detroit Rally Defends
Civil Liberties
Against Trucks Act**

— Nov. 2, 1953

**Anti-Trucks Law Victory
Scored by SWP in Suit**

— March 8, 1954

**Carl Skoglund Ordered
Deported, Will Appeal**

— Dec. 25, 1950

**Carl Skoglund, Minneapolis
Unionist, Held at Ellis Island**

— May 31, 1954

**Last Minute Writ Blocks
Move to Deport Skoglund**

— Sept. 6, 1954

**Socialist Youth Fight
Frame-up Indictment**

— May 13, 1963

**Indiana Indictment Quashed;
But Another Is Submitted**

— July 15, 1963

**Indiana Jury Re-Indicts
Three Young Socialists**

— Aug. 5, 1963

**Young Socialists Win
Acquittal in Indiana;
‘Anti-Red’ Law Declared
Unconstitutional**

— March 30, 1964

Socialists on Indiana Ballot

— Sept. 13, 1968

**Calif. Socialist Defends
Right to Be Teacher**

— Dec. 25, 1961

**Wendell Phillips
Tells Audiences
In Ohio About
His Case**

— Nov. 26, 1962

**ACLU Backs Court Appeal
In Phillips Case**

— Jan. 7, 1963

**West Coast Teacher
Wins Liberties Case**

— Dec. 21, 1964

**War-Crippled Veteran Fights
Discharge in ‘Loyalty’ Purge
— Nat’l Campaign Launched
In Defense of James Kutcher**

— Aug. 30, 1948

**Prominent Liberals Rally
In Defense of Kutcher**

— Nov. 8, 1948

**N. J. CIO Urges Locals
To Aid James Kutcher**

— Nov. 29, 1948

**Legless Vet Makes His 10th
Appeal in ‘Disloyalty’ Firing**

— June 15, 1953

**Legless Vet Hounded; Faces
Eviction As ‘Subversive’
— Aged Parents Also Hit**

— Jan. 29, 1953

**Stay Eviction
In Kutcher
Housing Case**

— March 30, 1953

**Kutcher Wins
Court Decision
In Housing Case**

— Dec. 26, 1955

**Gov’t Move to Cut Off
Legless Vet’s Pension
Hit By Storm of Protest**

— Jan. 2, 1956

**‘You Restored My Pension,
Now Give Me Back My Job!’
Kutcher Tells Witch-hunters
— VA Retreat Opens
Way to Victory**

— Jan. 16, 1956

**Legless Veteran Wins
Gov’t Job Back After
Eight-Year Fight**

— June 25, 1956

Deportation Case Hearing Slated

— Sept. 13, 1965

*Notables Join Fight to Bar
Joe Johnson Deportation*

— Dec. 27, 1965

*Noted Newsmen Support
‘Man Without a Country’*

— April 18, 1966

*‘Man Without a Country’
Runs for U. S. Senate*

— Aug. 15, 1966

*Joe Johnson Again
Ordered Deported*

— Oct. 17, 1966

*‘Man Without a Country’
Wins Four-Year Fight*

— July 5, 1968

Division in CP over Czechoslovakia

By Milton Alvin

LOS ANGELES — "How Workers Rallied to Dubcek" is the banner headline on the front page of the Oct. 12 issue of *People's World*. The article that follows is a first-hand report direct from Prague written by Al Richmond, editor of the paper. Richmond made a special trip to Czechoslovakia recently to see for himself what has been going on in that country since the August invasion by the Soviet Union.

The division that currently exists in the American Communist Party over the invasion reflects what are apparently irreconcilable positions on this question. Some, including a majority of the leadership, support the Soviet-led occupation, while others, including Richmond, are opposed.

Judging from his first report, Richmond was unable to find any evidence of a capitalist-restorationist tendency in Czechoslovakia that was threatening to make a bid for power. Nor does he say anything about signs of an invasion from West Germany. Reporting on the latest poll taken in Czechoslovakia (he says public opinion polls are continuing) he writes, "The latest poll (late September) showed 96 percent of the people behind Alexander Dubcek, first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party."

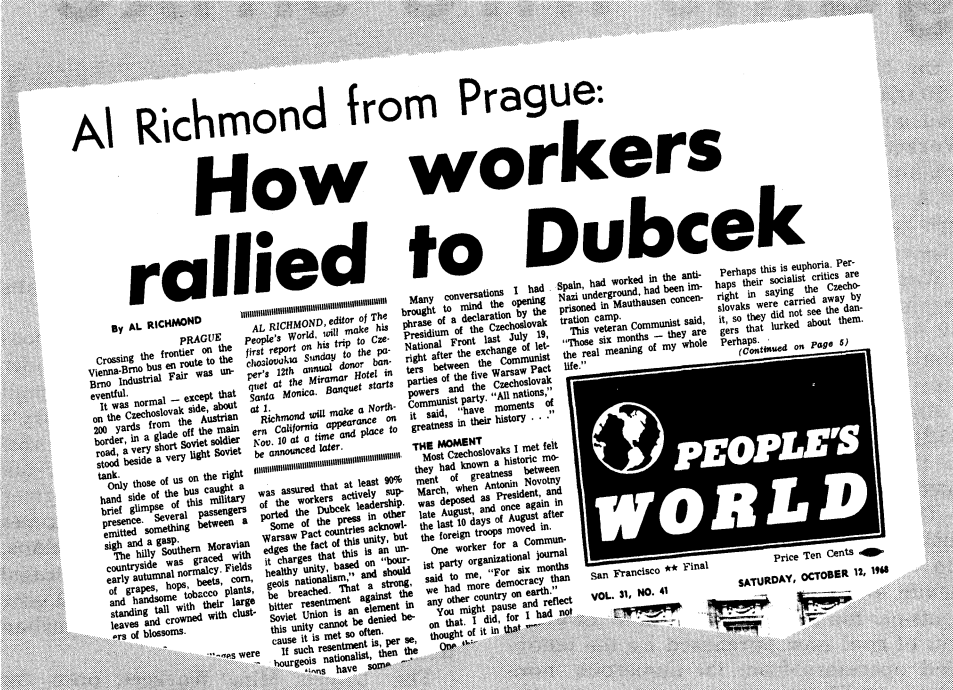
The unanimity with which the masses of the people met the invasion is attested to by outward signs Richmond saw. "On walls and fences," he says, "inscribed by an infinite variety of hands, were the names 'Dubcek-Svoboda.'" Despite the number of these that had been obliterated, he says, the inscriptions and erasures were evident everywhere. He also reports that photo-

graphs are to be seen of Dubcek and Svoboda everywhere.

The response and attitude of the workers is described by Richmond as at least 90 percent in support of the Dubcek leadership. He reports on the congress of the Czechoslovak CP—held on short notice one day after the occupying troops first entered the country—that "it is worth emphasizing that the congress *was* held in a factory, shielded by the 3,000 workers employed in this unit of the CKD complex, with the People's Militia standing guard as Soviet tanks and other military vehicles rumbled by, presumably searching for the congress site." Richmond found that while there is confusion among the students and pessimism among the intellectuals, the workers were solidly behind the Dubcek regime and the "new socialist course" charted since January.

An interesting aspect of Richmond's interviews with various people is the fact that six months of relaxation of the dictatorship meant so much to them. He writes, "And yet most of them talked of those six months with great exaltation, like men and women who had seen a vision of what life—*socialist* life, and this they underscored—could be like." Here we have direct testimony of what will ultimately be released from the depth of the masses once the political revolution against bureaucracy is completed. Czechoslovakia had only a modest beginning, only a promise, and yet it revealed a "great exaltation."

Richmond describes the shock, disbelief and anger that accompanied the invasion.



"This was compounded when the country's ranking leaders—except for President Svoboda—were abducted to unknown destinations."

In his first report, Richmond does not deal with the details of what the occupation has actually done, the revival of censorship of the news media, the firing of those critical, or thought to be critical, from their posts. Nor does he deal with demands reportedly made by the Soviet leaders that have not yet been put into effect. But everyone interested in the socialist development of Czechoslovakia, as well as the other East European countries and the Soviet Union itself, must ask himself what are the real reasons for the invasion.

munist parties have gone on record against the invasion. Now it is important for all those who look upon themselves as Communists to probe the developments in Czechoslovakia right down to the bottom and to understand just exactly why the Soviet leaders, despite what they knew world opinion, including the opinion of other Communists, would be, decided to take the steps they did.

Since their claims of capitalist threats are now known to be completely false, the aim of their policy is exposed for what it really is: to prevent freedom of speech; freedom of the press, radio and TV; freedom to criticize and to propose various solutions to problems from a *socialist* standpoint. This and this alone is the reason for the invasion of Czechoslovakia: the fear of the Soviet bureaucracy that the few freedoms granted to the Czechoslovak people would lead to a flowering of socialist democracy and that this would spread to the rest of Eastern Europe and to the Soviet Union and bring with it the downfall of all the privileged bureaucracies.

The key question of whether the invasion helped or harmed the cause of world socialism must be asked—and it must be answered with the greatest objectivity. The old excuse for crimes committed by Soviet leaders—that one cannot disagree with them or it will help the capitalists—doesn't go over so easy any more. Many Com-

Los Angeles keeps first place in 40th Anniversary Fund Drive

**By George Novack, Chairman
The Militant 40th Anniversary Committee**

Los Angeles is the pacesetter in our \$40,000 Anniversary Fund Campaign. For the second week this area is at the summit of the scoreboard, having sent in \$2,800, or 64 percent, of its \$4,400 pledge.

On the whole the fund is moving along at a propitious rate. If the same average can be maintained over the next six weeks until Dec. 15, the goal can be attained and possibly surpassed.

The increasing flow of coupon contributions from *Militant* readers indicates that the considerations presented in this column have had a certain power of persuasion. Last week these responses came from Philadelphia, Pa.; Madison, Wis.; San Jose and Napa, Calif.; Chicago, Ill.; Indianapolis, Ind. and, by no means least, from old and firm friends in Plentywood, Montana. One was from a GI in the service, who, like *The Militant*, is dead set against U. S. intervention in Vietnam.

* * *

Last time we reported a discussion with parents who were apprehensive about their son's total commitment to the socialist cause. This week we have a different story to tell. It concerns a couple who also happen to live in a New York suburb and have not one but two sons who belong to the Young Socialist Alliance. They have an altogether different attitude toward the participation of their children in the socialist movement. They've expressed this by making a contribution of \$250 to the Anniversary Fund.

Other parents—and grandparents—who are eager to redeem the honor of the older generation, please note.

* * *

Membership in the Lifetime Militants Club (initiation fee, \$1,000) is climbing slowly but steadily. This week two items of progress deserve to be recorded in its minutes.

We received an inquiry from Minneapolis whether membership was rigidly restricted to affluent individuals alone or whether a group of supporters could get into the club if they raised the thousand-dollar admission fee through teamwork.

This was not very difficult to answer, because it would ill become a socialist paper to frown on collective endeavor and insist upon individual enterprise at all costs. So we encouraged our Minneapolis friends to go ahead along that line. We've since received word of the formation of the Minnesota Militant Club, V. R. Dunne, chairman, which is determined to collect enough additional sizeable contributions to account for at least one membership. We expect to get good news of the results of their joint efforts soon. Can Minnesota's initiative be copied anywhere else?

Meanwhile, a third member has enrolled. He's a comrade from Boston who's helping to keep alive the spirit of Sam Adams' Liberty Boys in that city. The three memberships to date have added \$6,000 to the sum collected in other ways, since each lifetime contribution is matched by an anonymous donor in New York.

Fund Scoreboard			
Area	Quota	Paid	Percent
Los Angeles	\$4,400	\$2,800	64
St. Louis	100	58	58
Chicago	1,950	1,100	56
Twin Cities	2,200	1,115	50
San Francisco	2,300	975	42
Philadelphia	1,300	450	35
Boston	1,200	400	33
New York	7,200	2,180	30
Cleveland	1,800	300	17
Detroit	2,000	330	17
San Diego	300	22	7
Allentown	150	0	0
Newark	150	0	0
Oakland-Berkeley	2,000	0	0
Portland	150	0	0
Seattle	300	0	0
Other Areas	500	373	75
	\$28,000	\$10,103	36
Lifetime Militants	\$12,000	\$6,000	50
	\$40,000	\$16,103	40

**George Novack, Chairman,
Militant 40th Anniversary Fund Committee
873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003**

I want to help expand and improve The Militant.

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Coal miners win gains thru strike

On Oct. 14, after a five-day strike of 130,000 soft-coal miners (some 40,000 had gone out on Oct. 1) the United Mine Workers signed a contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, which W. A. (Tony) Boyle, UMW president, calls "the best ever negotiated by any union in history."

Wage gains include a \$3-a-day hike for the first year of the three-year contract, \$2 for the second, and another \$2 for the final year. This brings the daily wage for most of the miners to about \$30 a day.

An innovation in the new contract is a \$120 annual Christmas bonus beginning in 1969. Vacations have also been lengthened and "other fringe benefits improved."

The original demands of the union had included an increase of 10 cents per ton (to 50 cents per ton) in payments to the health and pension fund, and another 10-cents-per-ton royalty to the fund for every ton of coal now purchased by the unionized operators from the numerous non-union (wildcat) operators, who now predominate in the industry, especially in strip mining in the Appalachian region.

Nothing is said in the settlement announcement about these demands. Ambiguous language about "improved fringe benefits" seems to cover the union's retreat on the issue.

Since the soft-coal industry began to come back, after years of near death as oil and gas superceded coal as industrial fuels, the industry itself has been highly mechanized. According to George Judy, president of the operators' association, mechanization has absorbed much of the higher labor cost in the past, but this automation has now "begun to level off" so the "variables in the fringe-benefit costs" may mean an increase in coal prices at the minehead.

While mechanization may be one feature in the seemingly high wages coal miners earn today, it is not the only one. During the acute financial illness of the industry mines were shut down all over the country. Hundreds of thousands of young miners fled the dirty coal towns where hunger stalked the streets, for a chance to learn new, less hazardous trades in the big cities. Only the older men, who had spent their lives grubbing the black gold from the earth and who were past the age when they could be retrained to work in other, highly automated industries, were unable to escape. These men had their roots in the coal towns, owned their homes. Most of them

The National Picketline

stayed to eke out an existence on odd jobs or on relief.

Today there is an acute shortage of coal miners. The industry *had* to rehire the older men as it began to respond to the stimuli provided by the electrical-power industry's discovery that soft, highly inflammable coal was cheaper than either gas or oil. Recruitment campaigns among the former miners, high-school and college graduates were not exactly successful. Technicians, capable of operating the very sophisticated machinery, did respond, but only at very high wages and under glorified suburban living conditions.

The United Mine Workers, once the largest, most powerful of all American trade unions, has steadily decreased in size, both by attrition as mines closed, and by bureaucratic action on the part of the leadership. Boyle and his executive committee hold the UMW's membership in an iron hand, expelling whole locals, and even the mammoth District 50, for not toeing the line.

Today Tony Boyle is boasting about the pact *he* got for his men. (All negotiations were secret between Judy for the operators and Boyle for the union.) But a closer look might reveal that it was the immediate strike of 130,000 miners which forced the operators to grant a 25 percent increase.

And possibly what the *Wall Street Journal* calls "the so-called restlessness — sometimes in the form of revolt against the leadership — [which] has been a factor in the mine union for many years" kept W. A. (Tony) Boyle on his mettle to bring back a package acceptable to his membership.

Whatever the reasons, and in spite of Boyle's chest pounding, it is gratifying indeed that the coal miners have finally won for themselves some substantial gains.

— Marvel Scholl

N.Y. forum hears community leaders

By Elizabeth Barnes

NEW YORK — Five participants in the struggle for black and Puerto Rican control of the schools in the black and Puerto Rican communities discussed perspectives for the movement at the Militant Labor Forum here Oct. 19. Among them was Louis Fuentes, a member of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville community governing board and principal of Public School 155 in the Ocean Hill district.

Fuentes has been in the news as the man chosen for the position of school superintendent of District 1 by Puerto Rican and black community organizations which are demanding that a Puerto Rican superintendent be appointed.

Also representing the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board was Ronald McFadin, a teacher at Junior High School 271, the experimental school which has been at the center of the present struggle.

Speaking for the high-school students who have been battling to open the schools was "Che" of the High School Coalition, a black student organization. Che asserted that high-school students should unite with parents and teachers to fight for community control and commented that high-school students should be represented on community school boards.

One of the significant developments during the present school struggle in New York has been the formation of a Community Council in District 1, an area of mixed Puerto Rican, black and white population.

Julio Rosada, one of the leaders of the movement in District 1, explained how the Community Council was organized to include representatives from community organizations, and how the Council was attempting to link up with other communities to form a citywide coalition for community control.

Tony Thomas, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, pointed out the role of Mayor Lindsay as an opponent of black and Puerto Rican control of the schools: "Anyone who has been around the opening of the schools knows that



Luis Fuentes

Lindsay and his city administration have been playing hand in glove with attempts to close down the schools," he said.

"In the schools we've tried to open, Lindsay's police have been able to go into the schools — they even bring coffee in to the custodians who are locking people out. I've seen them go in there to chat, but they won't let the parents, the students and the teachers go into the school.

"At one school I went to, Washington Irving, a teacher told me that the teachers who are going into the schools who wanted their paychecks had to go to the union to get them — sent there by Lindsay."

Fuentes describes racist attitudes

Louis Fuentes is a member of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville community governing board and principal of I.S. 155. The following is an excerpt from his speech at the New York Militant Labor Forum Oct. 19.

We have a bilingual experiment in our school. I'm told it is the only one in the city, and we are very proud of it. It came about as a result of community desires . . . But we still have people who are opposed to this sort of thing.

The other day I happened to overhear one teacher talking to another in the corridor, and I jotted down what she said. Here's what she said as she was talking to her Anglo friend; I think she was Anglo, but she was referring to Puerto Ricans:

"They're good people," she said. "Their only handicap is that bag full of superstitions and silly notions that they inherited from Puerto Rico. When they get rid of those silly superstitions, they'll be good Americans . . . The schools will help more than anything else. In time the Puerto Ricans will think and act like Americans, but a lot depends on whether we can get them to switch from Spanish to English. Every day they speak Spanish; they think Puerto Rican."

These remarks seem to exemplify this equating of Anglo-American origin and Anglo-American ways with virtue, with goodness, even with political purity.

This notion of Anglo cultural superiority is reflected in a hundred ways. Here's another example. We tell Polish jokes, we tell Jewish jokes, Irish jokes, Chinese jokes, Negro jokes and Puerto Ricans tell jokes about Juan Bobo. But, tell me this? Have you ever heard of an Anglo joke?

You know, in all the shabby vocabulary of ridicule that Americans have developed for ethnic groups — such as "spics," "wops," "kikes," "micks," "bohunks," "coons" — there's not a single comparable term of derision for the English. "Limey" is such a feeble attempt that it can be used to express affection.

We might count it as some kind of linguistic triumph that the black American has finally come up with a name for whites that packs a bit of a bite. You know, older denunciations — such as "the man," "white trash," "Charlie," "ofay" — simply lack the force which "honky" projects. "Honky" does sound objectionable.

CALENDAR

BOSTON

THE WORKERS, THE STUDENTS AND THE '68 ELECTIONS. Speaker: Hedda Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. senator from New York. Fri., Nov. 1, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

WALLACE, WHITE RACISM AND BLACK POWER. Speaker: Dan Styron, SWP candidate for U.S. senator from Ill. 8:00 p.m. Dinner, \$1 a plate, 6:30 p.m. Sat. Nov. 2. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE! Speaker: Florencio Mercez, one of 25 FUPI (Federation of University Students for Independence) defendants, on tour from Puerto Rico. Fri., Nov. 1, 8:30 p.m. 873 B'way, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1.

* * *

THE REVOLUTIONARY ROAD: NOV. 5 AND AFTER. East Coast Regional Conference and Rally for Halstead and Boutelle. Sun. Nov. 3. See story, this issue.

Malcolm X

The Man

and His Ideas

by

George Breitman

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Grapes of wrath

By Tom Kerry

Many people wonder how it is possible for organized trade unionists to support a stumblebum like George C. Wallace for the highest office in the land. Part of the answer is a feeling of complete revulsion and a form of protest against the kind of politics practiced by the official labor leadership.

A case in point is an incident reported in the Oct. 9 issue of the *Los Angeles Times* which, in microcosm, serves to illuminate the utter political bankruptcy of the labor statesmen.

The AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has been locked in combat with the owners of the largest vineyards in California over the basic issue of union recognition. As part of the struggle the union, with the "official" backing of the national AFL-CIO, has been carrying out an aggressive, nationwide campaign to boycott California grapes.

Recently, a \$100-a-plate dinner was held at the Los Angeles Statler Hilton Hotel to honor one Warren M. Dorn, who was elected last June to the Los Angeles County board of supervisors with the endorsement and support of the AFL-CIO L.A. County organization. The *Times* reports:

"Handsome centerpieces of fresh grapes adorned the tables in the banquet room, including the tables of union leaders who have joined farm-union leader Cesar Chavez in pressing a nationwide boycott of California grapes."

The *Times* further reports: "Angered by what they regarded as a deliberate affront, AFL-CIO County Labor Federation President Irvin P. Mazzei and four other union leaders walked out of the affair." Previously, Dorn had voted against a board of supervisors resolution support-

ing the grape boycott.

But the "anger" of the union leaders proved fleeting and ephemeral. For, the *Times* reports, it was soon disclosed that despite the "affront," strikebreaker Dorn would not "lose official labor support."

In commenting on the incident, Sigmund Arywitz, "head of the federation," said:

"We were of course unhappy by that gesture of his, since farm workers have no protection of federal labor laws, and the only way they can protest their condition of employment is by the boycott.

"But," he added with the spirit of true labor statesmanship, "we know that this is the first time we have been unhappy about a Dorn position, and *we will base our support for him on his overall record.*" (Emphasis added.)

This petty shopkeeper's method of political accounting has been reduced to an art by the union brass who pride themselves on being practical politicians. That is, politicians without a shred of principle. Prior to an election a scorecard is compiled, based on an arbitrary selection of issues, citing the voting records of the various candidates. If the record shows that labor has been kicked in the teeth only 10 times out of 22, then on balance you have a "friend of labor" worthy of endorsement and support on the basis of the "overall record."

The only hitch is that when the chips are down these "friends of labor" always wind up in the camp of the strikebreakers. Usually they try to be a bit more circumspect than Dorn about "affronting" the labor fakers — at least in public. But the spineless bootlickers who pass as labor leaders have so earned the contempt of all and sundry that a public boot in the backside is deemed a fitting reward for services rendered.

Halstead position on UFT strike

The following is a letter sent to Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, and below that is Halstead's reply.

September 28, 1968

Dear Mr. Halstead:

Although it is not always easy to discern Mr. Murray Kempton's intent from his writings, I gather from his column in last night's [New York] Post that he was praising you for your having voted to open P.S. 33 in spite of the strike by UFT. This is to inform you that this action on your part lost you my vote in November, as well as the votes of others like me who were considering voting for you as a protest against the candidates of the two—or is it now three—major parties. Furthermore, I should appreciate your explanation for your vote. As a socialist, a worker, a union member, how do you explain a vote against another union which is now on strike because of two major issues: violation of due process and rejection of racism in the public schools? I await your reply most eagerly.

Very truly yours,
(Mrs.) E. S. C.

Dear Mrs. E. S. C.:

You are right that I voted with other parents to open P.S. 33, the school which my 10-year-old daughter attends. I did this because I believe that the present teachers' strike in New York is a reactionary strike directed against the black and Puerto Rican communities.

The issue at stake here has nothing to do with job security or "due process." It is rather the culmination of a two-year effort by the leaders of the United Federation of Teachers to discredit and sabotage any and every move toward black and Puerto Rican control of the schools in those communities.

The Shanker leadership has pitted the teachers' union against one of the most significant and potentially powerful struggles in the fight for black and Puerto Rican freedom this city has seen. Scores of community organizations are springing up, involving people who for the first time are organizing on a grass-roots level to make basic changes in this racist society. The march of 20,000 on Oct. 14 in support of community control reflected the mass character of this movement.

The present school setup has proven incapable of providing decent schools for black and Puerto Rican children. Community control is thus not only a fundamental democratic right but a necessity if

black and Puerto Rican children are to get the education they need.

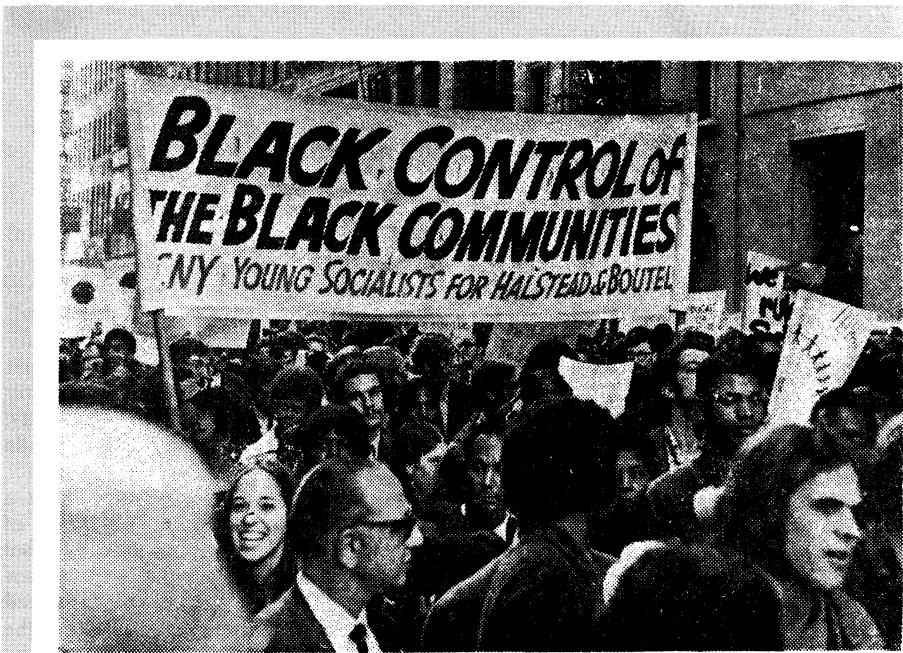
Over 50 percent of the students in the New York schools are black and Puerto Rican. In many areas the schools are 75 to 100 percent black. For years the school districts have been gerrymandered to prevent black people from having a say over what happens to the schools in their own communities.

Anything less than full community control will mean that black and Puerto Rican children will continue to be subject to the dictates of white school administrators who do not care about or understand their needs. It is the black and Puerto Rican communities which have raised demands for more Afro-American history, for Spanish-speaking teachers, for a curriculum which speaks to the needs of black and Puerto Rican children, for textbooks which do not reflect the racism of this society, and for more black and Puerto Rican teachers.

You mention "rejection of racism" as being one of the issues of the strike. This turns the question inside out. By "racism" the United Federation of Teachers leadership means the teaching of black pride, black history, and black culture. The fact that they equate the black pride of people struggling for freedom with the white racism of the oppressors shows just how prejudiced they are and how little they understand about the very children they say they want to teach.

The reactionary and racist nature of this strike is reflected in the slogans which have been carried on UFT picket signs. "End mob rule" can only be interpreted as equating black parents with "mobs." An advertisement placed by the teachers' union in the Oct. 8 New York Times warns against "vigilantes, racist extremists, and ordinary crackpots" who have been "emboldened to abandon other pet projects and direct their concentrated, bizarre efforts toward the school system." One of the so-called bizarre projects the ad refers to is the demand for an independent, community-controlled school district in Harlem.

It is racism pure and simple when the leadership of a union which is 90 percent white is so arrogant as to deny the right of an oppressed community to run its affairs. Not only do the leaders of the UFT hope to deny the black community the simple right of self-determination, but they are ready to line up with all the traditional enemies of trade unionism—the cops, the school supervisors and principals, the board of education and



SUPPORT COMMUNITY CONTROL — Young Socialist, carrying a large banner calling for Black Control of the Black Communities, were among the thousands of marchers that jammed Murray St., Monday evening, following the march around city hall. The crowd voiced their approval of community control of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district and blast Albert Shanker, president of the teacher's union. (Gilbert Photo).

FROM AMSTERDAM NEWS. Oct. 19 issue of newspaper carried this photograph, taken at Oct. 14 New York demonstration of 20,000 in support of black control of the black schools.

Mayor Lindsay himself—in opposition to the struggles of the black and Puerto Rican people.

Lindsay is not a friend of unionism, and he is not a friend of black and Puerto Rican people. It is his cops who are beating up parents, teachers and children when they seek to enter the schools. It is Lindsay who has suspended the Ocean Hill-Brownsville community governing board and who has offered to close experimental school I.S. 271.

By calling this strike, the UFT leaders are not only helping to cover up the true role of Lindsay and the board of education, but they are doing everything they can to give the union a bad name within the black and Puerto Rican communities. That is one of the reasons why there is a growing opposition within the union to this strike, causing more and more teachers to break with the strike and to cooperate with parents and teachers who want to open the schools. It is these teachers who are organizing within the union to build an opposition to Shankerism who are the hope of the UFT.

As a unionist, I believe that a strong teachers' union is needed to fight for teachers' rights, better conditions, salaries and job security—but even these things cannot be achieved unless the union joins with the black and Puerto Rican communities in the fight for better schools through community control.

The Shanker leadership is heading down a path which will severely weaken the union itself if its policies are not changed. While the UFT should have been concentrating its fire on the school board, demanding better conditions, better schools, job security and better pay, it was spend-

ing a half-million dollars lobbying in Albany against even the phony, half-way decentralization proposals being considered in the legislature.

The union leaders do not mention the fact that they were opposed to the Ocean Hill-Brownsville community governing board before it even had a chance to get off the ground. But the truth is that the union went into court to get an injunction to block the creation of the board.

In carrying out this struggle against decentralization, the UFT leaders have fabricated the issue of "due process" out of the whole cloth. The fact is that the 19 teachers who were removed from experimental school I.S. 271 were transferred and not fired, as the union has tried to claim. The UFT has never fought for "due process" for teachers who are transferred from one school to another—and hundreds of such transfers occur every year.

The issue is not job security. The UFT has never even stood up for the 40 percent of the teachers in New York who have no job security whatsoever because they do not have tenure. Many teachers have been victimized for their involvement in the antiwar movement, and the UFT has not defended them. Last year when two teachers were fired for taking their students to a Malcolm X memorial meeting, the UFT tops never raised the least protest.

As a socialist, as a supporter of black liberation, and as a unionist, I support the struggle for community control of the schools, which is part of the general struggle for black control of the black community.

Fred Halstead

The Great Society

THE GREAT SOCIETY—Elizabeth, N.J., merchants are providing the kiddies with tiny chocolate candies in containers resembling hypodermic needles and syringes with such slogans as, "Hippy Sippy Says I'll Try Anything." The distributor said candy is often packaged on topical themes.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION—Sripati Chandrasekhar, India's Minister of Family Planning, age unreported, proposed that every married couple in the country observe the centennial of Gandhi's birth by abstaining from sexual intercourse for a solid year. He said it's the cheapest and safest method of birth control.

HEADLINE OF THE YEAR—"Former Slave, 115, Sees Little Change."—The New York Times.

BRIGHT NOTE DEP'T—BELA HORIZONTE (AP)—Six masked men with machine guns robbed a branch of the Bank of Brazil of \$3,700. The bank's two guards were away at the time, helping break up a demonstration in the neighborhood.

MOVES IN MYSTERIOUS WAYS—The following is from an Oct. 7 Reuter's dispatch from Zurich as it came over U.S. teletypes: "Speculative buying today pushed the price of gold on the free market to \$39.87-1/2 — \$40.12-1/4 an ounce . . ."

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY—Brodie Educational Films in England is planning a film showing a nude couple

making love to be offered to schools which have sex education classes. The lead roles have not yet been cast and the producer is looking for "a young, married, church-going couple of fine moral character . . ."

COFFIN NAIL, ANYONE?—The death rates on most forms of cancer have either remained stationary or decreased. But the death rate from lung cancer has increased 14-fold in the past 35 years. Cigarettes are a major contributing factor to lung cancer.

FIT FOR A QUEEN—The Onassis yacht is equipped with a golden bidet. We trust it sprays champagne.

SPOOKY STORY—We've always gotten a chuckle out of a Chinese friend who, in keeping with home custom, occasionally refers to whites as "ghosts." But it may be more than a friendly joke. A U.S. embassy official was shot outside a Laotian army base by a guard who explained he thought he had seen a ghost.

FEDERAL CRACKDOWN—A federal judge fined four plumbing manufacturers \$50,000 each for conspiring to rig prices on \$1-billion of plumbing goods.

THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK—"Not necessarily." — Hubert Humphrey's response to Nixon's proposal that in the event of an electoral deadlock the Presidency go to the one with the highest popular vote.

— Harry Ring

----- clip and mail -----

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Army hounding Antiwar GI 2 socialist GIs leaders face court-martial

By Lillian Hopkins

OCT. 24—The Army is attempting to silence two antiwar, socialist GIs through a trumped-up court-martial and physical intimidation. The two GIs are Pfc. Walter Kos and Pfc. Edwin Glover. Both are members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

At Fort Bragg, N.C., Pfc. Walter Kos faces a court-martial for allegedly violating an order. On Aug. 20, Kos received a written order not to distribute any publications not authorized by the military officials. Then on Sept. 8, as Kos stood outside the mess hall, a sergeant asked him for the copy of *Vietnam GI* he was holding. Kos handed him the antiwar newspaper—and this unconstitutional order and frame-up trap is the basis of the Army charges!

After a series of bewildering developments, where the Army scheduled court-martials, dropped charges, and introduced new charges, Kos has now been told that he faces a court-martial on Oct. 31 or Nov. 1.

Pfc. Kos is being defended by Rowland Watts, president of the Workers Defense League. The noted attorney's services are being provided by the WDL.

The case of Pfc. Edwin Glover at Fort Benning, Ga., involves an insidious violation of GI rights. Since being drafted, Glover has continued to assert and exercise his right to express his own political beliefs and to discuss the war with his fellow GIs.

For over a month Glover has been under tight restrictions from the authorities, which made it virtually impossible for him to contact outsiders about the actions taken against him. (Army regulations provide that a GI may be restricted for only eight days before being charged with an offense.)

At one point Glover was told that he would be out of the Army in a few days, on a "less-than-honorable" discharge for his political affiliations. He was not discharged, but he was confined even more strictly. His bunk has even been moved into the orderly room so that he can be

under constant surveillance.

Glover has been singled out for special attention, but his friends on base have not escaped punishment either. A group of them are being harassed or court-martialed, apparently on various charges of "insubordination." As far as can be determined (and communications with Fort Benning on this matter are extraordinarily difficult), no charges of any sort have been made against Glover himself.

The persecution of Pfc. Glover took a very serious turn over the weekend of Oct. 19-20. Someone spread the word that three-day passes were available to anyone who went after Ed Glover. Two GIs attacked him and were duly rewarded with the promised leaves.

The military's failure to observe legal niceties is not peculiar to the Glover case; other antiwar GIs have been subjected to restrictions without the bringing of charges, and have been given confusing and contradictory information on their own status. Two factors make this case especially serious, however: the use of physical violence against the dissenting soldier and the effort to bar any communications between Glover and his civilian supporters or legal defense.

The persecution of this GI must be met with the most vigorous protest by the antiwar movement and supporters of civil liberties. This effort is not only crucial for Glover's sake—although obviously this is an important consideration, especially now that his physical safety seems to be in jeopardy. It is also vital that the Army not be allowed to establish a precedent for victimization that would endanger the rights of other antiwar GIs.

The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee has issued an appeal for telegrams of protest to be sent to the Commanding Officer of Fort Bragg on Pfc. Kos' behalf, and to the Commanding Officer of Fort Benning on Glover's behalf. Copies of such telegrams and contributions to aid in legal expenses should be sent to the GI C. L. D. C., Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, N. Y. 10011.

Cuban exiles boast of attacks

Don Munson, writing an article from Los Angeles in the London *Daily Mail*, reports that a spokesman for Cuban Power, a counterrevolutionary Cuban exile group, boasted that the organization would continue its terrorist bombing attacks in the U. S. (see story on L. A. bombings on front page). "When we see targets or opportunities we will continue to hit them,"

New Yorkers will picket HHH, Nixon

NEW YORK—Antiwar demonstrators will picket the headquarters of Humphrey and Nixon here on Saturday afternoon, Nov. 2. The action will be followed by a midtown antiwar rally. The picketing and rally is sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.

Humphrey's New York campaign headquarters is at Fifth Ave. and 52nd St. Nixon's is at Park Ave. and 57th, a relatively short distance away. The picketing will begin at 1 p.m. at the Nixon headquarters at Park Ave. and 57th St. It is hoped the turnout will be sufficiently large to have the line extended to picket both simultaneously as an expression of the Parade Committee's opposition to the pro-war policies of both.

The Veterans for Peace in Vietnam are asking ex-servicemen and servicemen to assemble at 12:15 at Park Ave. and 60th St. to move in a body to the picketing at the Nixon headquarters.

The rally will be held at 2:30 p.m. at Park Ave. and 48th St. Speakers, yet to be announced, will include servicemen and veterans.

the counterrevolutionary spokesman said.

Munson's article also says, "Pedro Arno, 45, a veteran of the Bay of Pigs invasion and a California exile leader, said the arrest last week in Miami of Dr. Orlando Bosch and eight other Cubans accused of sabotage attacks would not weaken" the group's terrorist activities aimed at Cuba.

"Our people are angry," Arno is quoted, "and our plans now are to continue to fight against any government that continues to help Castro. Great Britain is helping take away the liberties of the Cuban people by aiding Fidel. We are going to continue to hit anybody and everybody who lends him economic aid." Arno said British shipping will be a special target.

"We will find a naval means of attacking ships directly," he threatened. Arno revealed that Cuban Power terrorists were trained by the CIA. "Hundreds of us were trained by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and we know all there is to know about where to get the stuff [explosives] and how to use it."

Meanwhile, nine members of the reactionary terrorist organization have been arrested in New York in connection with a series of bombings of offices of nations who trade with Cuba. They are also charged with plotting the assassination of Dr. Ricardo Alarcon Quesada, the Cuban ambassador to the United Nations, and other Cuban officials.

Detectives reportedly discovered a cache of weapons in the homes of the arrested terrorists, including guns with silencers, other guns and Army uniforms.

They are also charged with plotting to invade the 106th Infantry Armory in Brooklyn, planning to kill the guard and steal munitions and take them to a farm in New Jersey for storage.

OCT. 18—Two servicemen and a Navy nurse who participated in the Oct. 12 GI and Vet March for Peace in San Francisco are being attacked by the military brass, reports the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

On Oct. 12, 500 active-duty GIs joined the march of 15,000 against the war. The historic action was the first large-scale GI action in opposition to the war.

Lt. J. G. Susan Schnall and Airman First Class Michael Locks, who were both prominent in the building of the march, are being court-martialed on unconstitutional charges designed to deprive soldiers of their rights. Lt. Hugh Smith, another activist in the march, is being harassed by the authorities.

The charges against Lt. J. G. Susan Schnall are: 1) That she wore her uniform on the demonstration in violation of a general order; and 2) That she "did on or about Oct. 10, 1968 with design to promote disloyalty and disaffection among members of the armed forces of the United States, participate in dropping of leaflets from aircraft on various military installations in and about San Francisco, Calif., and Oakland, Calif., which leaflets announced opposition to the conduct of military policy of the United States in Vietnam, and which leaflets urged members of armed forces of the United States to attend and participate in a public demonstration intended to impair the morale, discipline, and loyalty of said armed forces such conduct being unbecoming to an officer."

Airman First Class Michael Locks is presumably being charged with violation of Article 92 (wearing his uniform at the peace demonstration). Peace activists have been unable to get in touch with him to discover the precise details of the charge. He is presently restricted to base pending the court-martial.

The rights of these brave soldiers must be defended by everyone opposed to the



LT. J. G. SUSAN SCHNALL. Navy nurse speaking at Oct. 12 antiwar demonstration in San Francisco.

war in Vietnam and everyone who believes in civil liberties. Funds are needed for the defense. Send money and messages of support to: Schnall and Locks Defense Committee, P.O. Box 31268, San Francisco, Calif.

Telegrams of protest should be sent to: Commanding Officer, Oak-Knoll Naval Hospital, Oakland, Calif., in the case of Lt. J. G. Susan Schnall; and to Commanding Officer, Hamilton Air Force Base, Calif. 94934, in the case of Airman First Class Michael Locks.



GIs MARCH. Front of Oct. 12 demonstration in San Francisco. Airman First Class Michael Locks is at extreme left in front row, and next to him is Lt. J. G. Susan Schnall. GI contingent was in front of march of 15,000. Historic action by brave soldiers has shaken brass, who now are trying to deprive antiwar GIs of their rights.